

## Mr Mugabe insists he must be given first chance to govern

Lord Soames must ask the leader of the party winning most seats to form the government of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe said, reflecting confidence in victory but suspicion that others may be asked to form

a coalition to keep him out. The Commonwealth Observer Group, while expressing reservations about the poll, found it provided an adequate means of determining the wishes of the people.

## Suspicions of British intentions

From Dan Van Der Vat  
Salisbury, March 2

Mr Robert Mugabe, leader of the radical Zanu (PF) Party, confident of victory when the Southern Rhodesia election results are announced on Tuesday, firmly stakes his claim today to be first to try and form a government.

Speaking on his return from a surprise visit to Mozambique and Tanzania, which kept him out of the country for most of the three days of voting last week, Mr Mugabe said:

"Lord Soames has no choice but to call the leader of the largest party. There is nothing in the constitution or in the political conventions in Great Britain enabling the Governor to choose any other leader than the one with a majority."

He said that even if he won less than half of the 80 African seats he would still be entitled to be called upon before any one else. Only if he then failed to find partners would he call Lord Soames to form a call on somebody else. Any other course would be "dishonest".

Mr Mugabe's claim reflects Zanu (PF) suspicions that the British may attempt to put together a coalition of smaller parties to keep him out. As 20 seats are reserved for whites, Mr Mugabe would need to win 51 seats for an absolute majority.

Lord Soames has said he would consult all leaders of parties elected to Parliament before he invited one to form a government. He has also said he would call on the man he

believes could command a majority and he was not obliged to call on the leader of the party with the most seats.

Mr Mugabe said that on his trip he found the "Mozambicans were perplexed" and the Tanzanians "relaxed" by the Governor's position on whom to call upon. While he was in Dar es Salaam, he also met a special envoy from Nigeria.

Brushing aside questions about the British being puzzled and annoyed that he had left the country when he did, Mr Mugabe said he had wanted to brief three important allies about the situation here "on the eve of our election victory". They had also discussed the deployment of Rhodesian security forces and South African troops.

He did not believe that intimidation, from which he claimed his party had suffered more than any other, had swayed the minds of the voters or the outcome of the poll. He still keenly hoped for a parliamentary alliance with Mr Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front.

Mr Mugabe repeated his wish that Lord Soames should stay on for some time, up to three months, after Independence as a deterrent to a unilateral Declaration of Independence and to outside intervention. He should leave the country in a state of peace, but if he left at once, he would leave behind a "situation of potential danger".

He criticized the British for doing too little too late about integrating the two guerrilla

armies with the Rhodesian security forces.

The two other leading contestants for power began to show signs of loss of confidence in their electoral performance at the weekend. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, outgoing Prime Minister and leader of the UANC, alleged widespread multiple voting, massive intimidation, and voting by people under 18. Other parties had told him they felt the same.

"Like us, they feel cheated."

Mr Willie Mwanaurwa, spokesman of the Patriotic Front, said: "We were hopeful that we would be able to form a government until the element of fraud percolated into the election".

The Rhodesian Front, which holds all 20 whites seats, also issued a statement saying that

"the election cannot be regarded as free and fair and that, far from improving during the polling process, the situation deteriorated". As a result, the entire election exercise became one of persistent and uninhibited intimidation and cannot reflect the real views of the people of this country".

The total vote in last week's election was also announced at the weekend. A total of 2,599,450 people voted, representing 93.5 per cent of the estimated (and probably seriously underestimated) voting population of 2,878,000.

The absence of reliable or up to date population figures produced the faintly absurd result that two of the eight provinces recorded a turnout greater than 100 per cent.

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## Observers find Rhodesia poll fair

From Nicholas Ashford  
Salisbury, March 2

The 11-nation Commonwealth Observer Group (COG), whose 63 members have been carefully scrutinizing the Rhodesian election campaign for the past five weeks, today issued an interim report on last week's election.

It concluded that the poll had been "free and fair to the extent that it provided an adequate and acceptable means of determining the wishes of the people in a democratic manner". The interim report has been submitted to Commonwealth governments.

While expressing certain reservations about the level of intimidation and other factors which may have affected the way people voted, the report, which was unanimous, said its view was fortified by the high turn-out and the orderly and relaxed manner in which such a large percentage of voters went to the polls.

The group was led by Mr Rajeshwar Dayal of India and included prominent representa-

tives from Australia, Bangladesh, Barbados, Canada, Ghana, India, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.

The group, set up in response to decisions taken at last year's Commonwealth conference in Lusaka at which the present Rhodesian "initiative" was launched, will make a full report to Mr Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, in about a week's time.

The fact that its interim report is essentially favourable will be of great relief to the British administration, Salisbury and the British Government as it should result in Commonwealth recognition of the new government of Zimbabwe.

A similar conclusion was reached by a Canadian non-government observer team although its members were more critical about the pre-poll arrangements. The Canadians also voiced their concern that the outcome of the election could be negated if a government was formed that excluded a black majority party and relied instead on the support of the 20 white members of Parliament.

Several other observer groups today also produced interim statements which were similar in tone to that of the Commonwealth group. A group of 20 independent British observers appointed by the British Government to assist Sir John Boyden

submitted a separate report.

An official four-member team from Ireland said the election afforded the people of Zimbabwe the opportunity to choose their future government and the results should provide a fair reflection of the wishes of the electorate.

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Mr Len Murray, General Secretary of the TUC, has been in touch over the weekend with steel negotiators of the craft and general unions as well as leaders of the two main unions involved, the Iron and Steel Confederation and the National Union of Blastfurnace men.

Mr Michael Foot, QC, the Attorney General, referred to the dangers of too much detail being divulged about a jury's deliberations in a particular case.

He was speaking on Saturday at a conference on the law and the press organized by the Law Society and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors.

Sir Michael suggested that if

what a jury felt about an accused, the judge, witnesses and

Continued on page 2, col 5

## Royal baby well

The Duchess of Gloucester, aged 33, and her baby girl, born at St Mary's Hospital, Paddington, London, on Saturday, were "very well" yesterday, Buckingham Palace reported. The Duke of Gloucester attended the birth.

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Continued on page 2, col 5

## Questions emerge about miners' delegates at left-wing takeover meeting

From Ronald Kershaw  
Bridlington

The National Executive of the Labour Party is likely to be asked to order an inquiry into the eligibility of some miners' delegates who helped to engineer the complete takeover by the left-wing of Barnsley Constituency Labour Party last Friday.

The coup which is attributed to the strategy of Mr Arthur Scargill, the Yorkshire miners' leader, is seen by moderate supporters of Mr Roy Mason, the MP for Barnsley and former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland as the first step in a long-term plan to depose Mr Mason in favour of a more radical MP better attuned to the left-wing demands of Mr Scargill's men.

Mr Mason's supporters spent this weekend at Bridlington where the Yorkshire Regional Council of the Labour Party was meeting, tallking over evidence which they say casts doubt on the credentials of some miners' delegates who voted 10 of their number on to the constituency party executive leaving only six seats for other trade unions.

Questions are emerging, for instance, about the actual number of miners represented. Mr

Trevor Lindley, Mr Mason's Parliamentary agent, a mature student at Bradford University, has been researching the make-up of trade union affiliations to the Barnsley Labour Party.

He has discovered that more than 11,000 miners are represented in the Barnsley constituency. The Barnsley electorate is 77,659.

Labour Party rules provide for one delegate for every 50 members or part thereof of a branch. By dint of the NUM's affiliation to the Labour Party every colliery branch may be accredited on the number of miners it contains, Mr Lindley said. Rockingham colliery is accredited with six delegates (the maximum permitted) and 340 miners, but the pit has been closed and the miners transferred to other collieries.

The NUM's headquarters branch at Barnsley, which was created only last year, is entitled to six delegates for its 700 members but the area headquarters employs only a handful of staff.

Nobody is quite sure where more than 600 members are but one theory is that they are retired miners who retain union membership.

Mason call, page 2

David Wood column, page 15

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Mason call, page 2

David Wood column, page 15

## Fishermen rescued after three days in North Sea

Three men who spent more than three days drifting in the North Sea after an explosion sank their fishing boat were rescued yesterday morning.

Mr Heuri Hansen, the skipper, aged 59, of George Street, Cleethorpes, part owner of the Olympic, yesterday made a radio call to his wife to tell her he was safe.

He said last night: "He told me that the ship blew up so suddenly after a fire in the engine room that he and his two shipmates had to jump for it.

They were in an inflatable

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## Athletes oppose Olympic boycott

Bill "Dixie" Dean, who held the Football League scoring record with 60 goals for Everton in the 1927-28 season, died while watching the Everton-Liverpool game as a guest of the match sponsors at Goodison Park on Saturday.

Norman Fox, page 9; Obituary, page 16

Industrial relations: A positive right to strike for unions within a new legal framework is suggested by the Confederation of British Industry

National Front rally: More than 3,000 police drafted into south London keep marchers and counter-demonstrators apart

Medical dispute: MPs call for inquiry into how the heart of boy aged 16 was removed without permission of relatives or coroner

Georgia: Mr Ronald Reagan promises Americans a return to the good old days

Classified advertisements: Appointments, pages 7, 8, 23, 24; Personal, 25, 26; Property, 7, 8

Letters: On rival economic theories, from Professor J. K. Galbraith, and others; on the effect of BBC cuts, on music, from the Principal of the Royal Academy of Music

London: Mixed signals from the Kremlin, California's cerebral brains bank

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What will Mr Trudeau do with his power now? by Charles Douglas

Home News, 2, 4; Business, 17-22

Europe News, 5-7; Court, 16

Overseas News, 5-7

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Letters: On news photography; Jimmy Reid on the price of democracy; the short list for the top people

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John Service on The Phantom of the Opera; in The Order and on

Scottish Ballet and the Royal Ballet; John Hayes reviews two books on Bernard Berenson; Joan Bakewell on D. H. Lawrence (BBC 2);

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Miss Margaret Morris, "Dixie" Dean, Mr Jaroslav Iwaszkiewicz, Sport, pages 9-11

Cricket: Pakistan beat Australia by seven wickets in First Test

Athletics: Coglan runs third fastest; three miles: Speed Skating: British beaten in world championships

Business News, pages 17-22

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## HOME NEWS

## Government is developing a new policy on workers' ownership and independence, minister says

By George Clark  
Political Correspondent

New policies that will enable workers to move out of the age of wage subservience and will encourage greater participation in business and industrial enterprise are being developed by the Government. Mr. David Howell, Secretary of State for Energy, told a meeting in Bath on Saturday.

In Conservative circles it will be seen as a significant speech, supplementing that made by Sir Ian Gilmore, Lord Privy Seal, at Cambridge three weeks ago.

Mr Howell, who has had an influential role in Conservative policy-making in recent years, was obviously concerned to move the party away from its preoccupation with the personalisation debate about the "hawks" and "doves" in the Cabinet, on to a central economic issue: "Is more, not less, state intervention in the economy enough?"

"How do we grow here and what kind of mixed economy are we going to have?" That was the question he posed to his Conservative audience. He clearly ruled out not only old-style state socialist economic theory, but also Keynesianism and what might be called "paternalist high Toryism".

Mr Howell said that even the highly volatile "socialist monetarism" which emerged in

British between 1976 and last year had "apparently been abandoned by the Labour Party, with its economic thinking. He said it has retreated into the dark ages."

More recently, "right" ownership was now being proposed as not being the best way to do ownership by the public. "As an ideal, if it failed to provide the people of this country with the incentives or benefits or responsibilities of ownership,"

Mr Howell said.

"The thinking of 30 years on nationalised industries, a Morrisonian inheritance, must now be changed. All our experience of these industries points us towards new patterns of finance and ownership, and a new perception of the relationship between employer and employee. As yet we have scarcely taken the first steps towards ownership of property and business by the people."

In the future, Mr. Howell said, the pattern would combine a whole range of different forms of ownership, through self-employment, partial or full-time; through small business ownership; through industrial share ownership; and through asset and property ownership.

"What we are now developing in Government is an approach which will encourage all workers to move out of the age of wage-subservience and into the age of ownership and independence," he said.

## Labour group seeks new party rules

By Our Political Correspondent  
Labour MPs who are not prepared to accept Labour policy as decided by the party's conference and want to put an independent viewpoint should stand as independents, Mr Leslie Randall, chairman of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the opening of a campaign to persuade the Labour Party commission of inquiry, which is looking into the future organisation of the party, to accept four substantial changes in the party rules and to put them to the party conference in October for approval.

The CLPD is asking constituency workers and trade unions to back these changes in 1981. All would-be Labour candidates should sign declarations that they will abide by party policy as decided at the conference.

2. The Parliamentary Labour Party standing orders should be amended to contain a commitment to abide by party policy;

3. The PLP's report to the party conference should be debated section by section each year;

4. An annual "verdict" on the PLP's performance should be presented to the conference each year by the national executive committee.

The reasons for the changes are expounded in a 13-page document to be submitted to the commission today. It opens with a restatement of the case for mandatory submission for selection of Labour MPs, a

## Mr Mason calls for end of talk of split

From Ronald Kershaw

Mr Roy Mason, MP for Barnsley, whose seat is threatened by a left-wing takeover of the constituency Labour Party, yesterday made it clear that he would continue to serve the party, and he urged other Labour MPs to scotch any talk of a divided party.

Taking the lead out from the annual meeting of the Yorkshire regional council of the party at Bridlington, he said that talk of a split was wrong. "I shall fight to maintain the strength and solidarity of the party and I want every MP who feels he is under threat to do the same," he added. "If this party splits then everybody is doomed."

Earlier Mr Mason told trade union leaders at a fringe meeting that with 20 per cent inflation every trade union would baffle for big increases to offset losses. "With present Government policy persisting, we shall witness the unremitting force of unionism facing the hawk-like stand of Toryism."

"That policy is already forcing moderates to turn militant. If it goes on, the class war will emerge. It will be a trial of strength between workers and the establishment and the very future of society will be in danger of fracture."

He said that the party contained two opposed factions, with opposed sets of beliefs. "Two philosophies at war with one another." He did not think the commission of inquiry would produce "sweetness and light".

## Mrs Thatcher 'the greatest intimidator'

By Our Political Correspondent

Mrs Thatcher and the other ministerial "hawes" in the Cabinet had "put the frigates" on the working people of Britain, Mr. Ronald Hayward, general secretary of the Labour Party, said yesterday.

He told the Yorkshire regional council of the party in Bridlington: "Mrs Thatcher likes to tell the world that men and women are frightened from working during a strike by the actions of over-mighty trade unions and by mass picketing in particular."

"But in fact she is the greatest intimidator of all. She is more frightening to working people than a whole battalion of Arthur Scargill, for she is taking away much more than their right to earn or to work during a strike. She is taking away their chance of ever working at all."

With one and a half million already unemployed, and the threat of many more redundancies to come, small wonder that some people forget that unity is strength", he said.

Faced with mounting bills, including record gas prices, mortgages, council rents and rates, small wonder that some breadwinners are becoming too cowed to stand up for their rights.

By Peter Hill

Industrial Editor

The British Steel Corporation's ability to meet the break-even target set by the Government for the financial year which begins next month is in serious doubt.

The cost of the strike, which has halted production since the beginning of this year and enters its tenth week tomorrow, has pushed the BSC substantially over the £450m cash limit target for the next financial year.

Prospects for securing an end to the strike are focused on the ballot of its workers being organized by the BSC. Ballot forms have been dispatched inviting workers to vote for or

reform agreed to by the Labour conference last year after five years of campaigning by the CLPD and left-wing groups.

It states that the NEC and not the party leader should have final responsibility for the election manifesto, and a Labour Cabinet should consult the party leadership before important decisions.

Other CLPD reforms suggested are: the mandatory inclusion of women and a manual worker in all party members' section of the NEC to be elected by the women's conference; and rank and file party members should be allowed to stand for the NEC even though not conference delegates.

A number of Labour MPs have said privately that if they are forced out through a left-wing takeover of their parties they will stand as independents. One of them is Mr. Neville Sanderson, MP for Hillingdon, Hayes and Harlington, who is under threat in his constituency.

Commenting on what had happened at Barnsley, the constituency of Mr. Roy Mason, the former Labour minister, Mr. Sanderson said that that was "Only the tip of the iceberg".

He said that the party contained two opposed factions, with opposed sets of beliefs. "Two philosophies at war with one another." He did not think the commission of inquiry would produce "sweetness and light".

Booklet turns the spotlight on women MPs

By Our Political Correspondent

Who was the first woman elected to Parliament at Westminster? Immediately the name of Lady Astor, the temperance campaigner, springs to mind.

But that is wrong. It was Countess Markievicz, elected in the Sinn Fein cause in 1918. She never took her seat in the House of Commons.

That, and many other essential facts about the women who have left their mark on British political history, are given in a handily little booklet published in particular.

But in fact she is the greatest intimidator of all. She is more frightening to working people than a whole battalion of Arthur Scargill, for she is taking away much more than their right to earn or to work during a strike. She is taking away their chance of ever working at all."

Representatives of politics, is shown as disproportionately small but it is evidence of their quality that so many reached ministerial office. Since 1918 109 women have been elected to the Commons, but 38 have served in governments, including 12 in Cabinets. And of course we now have Mrs. Thatcher as Prime Minister. Women in Politics (Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square, Westminster, 40p).

David Wood column, page 15

Booklet turns the spotlight on women MPs

By Paul Routledge

Labour Editor

A positive right to strike in British law is tentatively suggested by the Confederation of British Industry today as part of a stronger legal framework for industrial relations.

The idea is floated in a discussion document prepared for the employers' review of relationships with the trade unions and the Government. It has also been considered by officials at the Department of Employment who are conducting a reappraisal of union immunities.

Some merit is seen by advisers to Mr. James Prior, the Secretary of State for Employment, in a complete shift of emphasis so that unions have rights under the law rather than being subject to a range of immunities.

A "Bill of Rights" for industry, it has been argued, could reduce much of the conflict commonly blamed for the country's poor economic performance.

This is a complex area of the law, but as it is generally understood there is no statutory right to strike.

The demonstrators called for a general strike and shouted "Bring out the miners".

Strikers are protected from

the consequences of their actions under the civil law but have grown up over the years. A positive right to strike would formally set out what industrial action could be taken with the blessing of the law.

The employers' discussion paper is published on the eve of the latest round of talks between Mr. Prior and the TUC's employment policy and organisation committee on the Employment Bill and the few proposals to curtail blacking and other forms of secondary industrial action.

Tomorrow's talks at the Department of Employment may be the last before the TUC decides open war.

CBI thinking on the right to strike is based on responses to industrial action.

Employers are urged not to tolerate unreasonable conduct by unionists. "In part this requires a better legal framework for industrial relations together with management willingness to use it," the paper argues.

In the short term, some amendment of the law is required to balance individual

rights against the benefits of having a closed shop agreement and to place sensible restrictions on picketing methods.

In the longer term, the whole question of legal imposition of minimum standards for trade union rules, for example on ballots for industrial action, needs detailed examination.

More fundamentally, thought must be given to the unsatisfactory nature of trade union immunities.

A better balance is necessary between accountability at law of unions and their members and their freedom to bring reasonable pressure to bear in the furtherance of their legitimate aims even perhaps by a positive right to strike, subject to reasonable limitations, being created.

The CBI goes on to say that ultimately management needs to set the potential longer-term benefits of standing firm against the immediate cost of a dispute and a general hardening of attitudes in the short term.

*Trade Unions in a Changing World: The Challenge for Management* (CBI, 21 Tothill Street, London W1H 9LP, £3).

## Strike pushes BSC over £450m cash limit target

By Peter Hill

Industrial Editor

The British Steel Corporation's ability to meet the break-even target set by the Government for the financial year which begins next month is in serious doubt.

The cost of the strike, which has halted production since the beginning of this year and enters its tenth week tomorrow, has pushed the BSC substantially over the £450m cash limit target for the next financial year.

Prospects for securing an end to the strike are focused on the ballot of its workers being organized by the BSC. Ballot forms have been dispatched inviting workers to vote for or

against a ballot on the corporation's 14.4 per cent pay offer.

The Iron and Steel Trade Confederation has urged its members not to take part but the BSC today counters with a £50,000 press advertising campaign to use their vote and secondly vote "yes" to keep the corporation alive.

Rotherham march: Nearly 5,000 steel strikers with their wives and children yesterday marched two miles from Clinton Park, Rotherham, to Millbank footbridge in support of their 14.4 per cent pay claim (our Political Correspondent writes).

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J. H. Vauxhall



These days, car salesmen offer you the options list the way waiters offer you the à la Carte.

Leaving you to choose the fixtures and fittings according to your pocket.

A state of affairs which we find lamentable.

Hence, the appointments, generally found on the options lists of other cars, are already present in the Royale. For example, automatic transmission is standard. (You can have manual, if you prefer, at no additional cost.)

Nor is the car required to embrace a variety of humbler engines.

Only one is offered: a 2.8 litre 6-cylinder unit that accelerates the Royale to a top speed of 115 mph\*.

Inside, the furnishings are such that even the most critical of travellers will find little to carp at.

The seats are covered in crushed velour with head restraints at the rear as well as the front.

You can even adjust the driver's seat for height, as well as for reach and rake.

Additionally, the steering wheel can be tilted and the steering is powered.

Those interested in the smaller details will find

central locking for the doors, an electronic boot release, a sliding steel sunroof and radio/stereo cassette player.

While outside are double-skinned metallic paint, alloy wheels and a headlamp wash/wipe system.

In fact, the Royale's specification is so complete that the only option offered is air conditioning.

Your Vauxhall dealer will be glad to demonstrate these virtues to you.

And you'll find he hasn't the slightest inhibition about extolling the car's remarkable value.

SALOON £19,160 COUPE £19,647 PRICES CORRECT AT TIME OF GOING TO PRESS  
INCLUDES CAR TAX & VAT DELIVERY & NUMBER PLATES EXTRA. \*MANUFACTURER'S FIGURES.

## Is it vulgar to talk about value in a luxury car?

VAUXHALL  
ROYALE

## HOME NEWS

## Haughey initiative on Ulster meets furious Paisley rebuff

From Christopher Thomas

Belfast  
Ulster's "loyalists" are being treated to a stiff dose of Orange patriotism in response to a worldwide initiative by the Irish Government for gradual and cautious reparation towards a united Ireland.

The Rev Ian Paisley, in a thunderous speech to the Democratic Unionist Party's annual dinner in a hotel in Antrim on Saturday, addressed himself to the Irish Prime Minister:

"Chase Haughey, we would

concede than permit you and

the IRA to attain your shared

goal of an all-Ireland republic.

"There will never be an all-

Ireland so long as there is a

Unionist and Protestant majority

in Northern Ireland.

"We want nothing whatever

to do with you. Your aggression towards our right to exist

as a free people affronts us.

Our church-bidden constitution

and state disgusts us.

Your adherence to the Provisional

Army and your territory as

our launching pad to attack our

provinces angers us.

"Your signs of conciliation to

our murderers infuriates us.

Your homely words about protecting all interests astonish us.

The fate and decline of the Protestant population in your state throw back in your teeth your meaningless platitudes."

Only 24 hours earlier Mr

James Moloney, leader of the

rival Official Unionists, chose

to launch a scathing attack on

Mr Haughey's instruction to

high embassies and consulates

to seek support for his Govern-

ment's policy on Northern Ire-

land. He warned loyalists to

brace themselves for an attack

away as 600 miles. Like a radio

wave, the pulse produces a volt-

age in receiving aerials (or any

electrical conductor), only mil-

lions of sites greater.

Any attack on Britain seeking

to knock out its communications

and power systems would

be likely to include an explosion

at a deliberately high altitude,

so as to cover most of the

country with the effects of the

pulse and increase chaos.

The electro-magnetic pulse

(EMP) from an explosion

equivalent to several thousand

tons of TNT at, say a height of

30 miles above ground would

produce damage at least as far

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Widespread interruption of

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## WEST EUROPE



Corporate Leach

## Soldier shot by gunmen in Germany

Münster, West Germany, March 2.—Unknown gunmen attacked a British military police patrol car last night, seriously wounding one of the two occupants, a Rhine Army spokesman said today.

He said the car was approaching Winterbourne barracks, housing a number of small British Army units, when it was hit by more than 10 bullets fired from two weapons.

The injured soldier, Corporal Stewart Leach, aged 22, was taken to hospital with two bullet wounds. He was critically ill, following a lengthy operation, the spokesman said. He said that Corporal Leach was single and came from Taunton, Somerset.

The attack was the second made on a British soldier within two weeks. On February 16 a man and a woman shot dead Colonel Mark Cope in Bielefeld as he was parking his car in the garage of his house. The killers have not been caught.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA), later said they were responsible for the attack.

The Rhine Army spokesman said today that there were no clues to the identity of last night's assailants. But West German police sources said IRA gunmen could have been responsible.

A police spokesman said the car was attacked when it stopped for traffic lights at a road junction. He said the attackers used 9mm guns.

## France tests its new A-warhead

From Our Correspondent Paris

According to an unconfirmed report in the *Republique* newspaper, *La Defense de l'Atome*, a powerful hydrogen explosion occurred on the island of Mururoa, in French Polynesia, on Friday. Mururoa has been used as a testing base for French atomic weapons since 1963.

Although neither the French commander in the Pacific nor the test centre on the island have both refused to make any comment on the report, it is known that France is in the final phases of development of a new nuclear warhead for the M4 missiles, due to equip France's sixth nuclear submarine when it enters service in 1985.

The sixth submarine, *L'Inflexible*, is the first to be designed specifically to carry the M4 missile, which will have a range of more than 4,000 kilometers (2,400 miles) with multiple warheads capable of striking several targets hundreds of kilometers apart.

At a press conference on Friday, Dr. Jacques Chevallaud, of the French Army's health service, announced that France had now perfected a treatment for the visors of helmets which meant that total protection was given to the eyes in the event of a nuclear "flash".

The visor is treated in a way which cuts out all ultra violet and infra red light, while still giving sufficient visibility to a pilot to control his aircraft.

## El Greco work found

Madrid, March 2.—A painting entitled "El Salvador" by El Greco, stolen from a Spanish museum last year, has been found in the left luggage department of Madrid's international airport, police sources said.

## Paris sweatshop workers strike

From Ian Murray

Eleven illegal Turkish immigrants, who have been on hunger strike in the little chapel of St. Bruno in the Goutte d'Or district of north-eastern Paris, have become the object of political pilgrimage in France.

Yesterday, they were visited by M. François Mitterrand, the leader of the socialist party. He spent some time chatting to them as they lay exhausted on their mattresses before signing their petition for a new deal from the French authorities.

They have already been visited by M. Lionel Stoleru, a junior minister at the Health Ministry, who has been given the task of trying to defuse the situation.

The problem they pose is daunting. The 11 are only a militant handful of the 30,000 or more Turks who are thought to be working in the ready-to-wear clothing workshops around the Rue du Sentier in the centre of Paris. Even they represent only a small proportion of the 400,000 illegal workers which the Socialist trade union, the CFDI, estimates are in France.

By his visit M. Stoleru showed the hunger strikers that he is sympathetic to their cause. At the same time he made it quite

## Amsterdam gives in to squatters after rout of police in riot

From Robert Schmid  
Amsterdam, March 2

The municipality of Amsterdam today gave in to demands from squatters after the city suffered its worst riot since the 1970s on Friday night. A decision issued this afternoon by the Court of Arbitrator and Alderman, stated that the police would not attempt to clear premises taken over by the squatters.

A decision on the future of the premises, which are being acquired by the city, is being left to the municipal council.

The announcement was made after 25 policemen, plus a 200-man force which was reported to be impeded by orders to make no arrests, were injured on Friday night when they attempted to remove the squatters from a house near the Vondel Park.

The squatters had apparently anticipated the action by the police who were confronted by a large and well-organized force of about 500 wielding bricks and iron bars. A street battle reminiscent of the riots in Amsterdam in the 1960s followed, ending after 20 minutes when the police force was routed.

It was reported that they had suffered nine injured, and immediately set about erecting barricades of overturned cars, vans, railings and paving stones. Police closed a large portion of the area surrounding the Vondel Park.

The squatters demanded the withdrawal of the police, the right to remain where they are, and the release of a girl arrested the previous week. The city has not given in on the last demand.

Mr. Wim Polak, the Burgomaster, said in an interview last night that he would do everything possible to avoid further violence. The squatters are reported to have made a large number of petrol bombs.

An additional hazard during the disturbance was created by

the large number of people who converged on the area, apparently for the sole purpose of causing trouble. The squatters regularly called on them by megaphone to leave, but they are thought to have started a fire that broke out last night in an office building opposite the squatters' house.

After unsuccessful attempts by the squatters to put out the fire, some barricades were removed to let the fire brigade through. The barricades were later rebuilt.

The squatters expressed concern at the wilful damage being inflicted.

Hundreds of tourists, some with cameras, also converged on the area and further complicated police activities.

Amsterdam has had a problem with squatters for years because of the housing shortage in the capital. It is not illegal to squat in empty buildings for which the owners have no immediate use.

The house involved in the dispute is being bought by the municipality which wants to use it temporarily to house squatters living in hotels with inadequate facilities, particularly the Crown Princess.

The owner of the house has said that they had suffered nine injured, and immediately set about erecting barricades of overturned cars, vans, railings and paving stones. Police closed a large portion of the area surrounding the Vondel Park.

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## OVERSEAS Medallists oppose boycott of Olympics

The Olympic Games will die and sport will suffer if a boycott of the games in Moscow goes ahead, 10 British Olympic medallists said yesterday in an open letter to the world.

Their statement, urging that Britain should take part in the games, has been sent to Mrs Thatcher, Mr. Hector Munro, the Sports Minister, and heads of sporting bodies, including Mr. Richard Jeeps, the head of the Sports Council.

The statement says a boycott may achieve its short-term aims of embarrassing the Soviet Union but adds: "The price we will pay will be the total destruction of the Olympic movement and the fragmentation of the structure of world sport."

It says the British and United States Governments are wrong to ask sportsmen to "bear the responsibility of this decision in seeing sport as a harmless recreation" expendable in international affairs.

The decision affects everyone—not only those involved in past and present Olympics, but the whole community."

The 10 medallists who signed the letter are the athletes Lynn Davies, Robbie Brightwell and his wife Anne Packer, Adrian Metcalfe and Alan Pascoe; the



Star athletes against the Moscow boycott, Günter Lohre, left (West Germany), Sara Simeoni (Italy) and Patrick Abada (France) meet the press at Sindelfingen, West Germany

swimmers David Wilkie and Anita Lonsbrough; Liz Harris (diving), Keith Remfry (judo), and Hugh Porter (cycling).

The attack politicians for being "dangerously misguided" in seeing sport as "a harmless recreation" expendable in international affairs.

Their statement says that if sport interferes in sport, it comes accepted, all international events will be subject to "government whim".

Brinn and the United States were backing a boycott while giving the Soviet Union favour.

The money flow into sport from sponsors and television

## M Giscard starts Gulf tour in Kuwait

From Charles Hargrove  
Kuwait, March 2

President Giscard d'Estaing arrived here yesterday at the start of a nine-day visit to four of the Gulf states and Jordan, which has been extended to include a one-day stop-over in Riyadh for private talks with King Khalid.

Great importance is being attached on both sides to this visit, the first by a French head of state to the area. The President comes here with the aura of a man who has consistently adopted an attitude sympathetic to the Arab stand-point in the Middle East conflict.

This and not Afghanistan remains the dominant issue in Kuwait and the other states of the Gulf. The independent position of France on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has further enhanced its prestige and the role in which he is being cast as a mentor of the European Community.

There was much speculation among French journalists accompanying the President that he might meet Mr. Yasser Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization leader, at some stage during his tour, probably in Jordan.

The President's spokesman firmly refused to deny these rumours, on the ground that he could not do so in Kuwait. Kuwait has taken a strong line on Palestinian claims and the Israeli-Egyptian treaty party because Palestinians make up a quarter of the population of the emirate.

The spokesman merely said that the French Government understood that the PLO leader wanted an official invitation to Paris. There was no objection in principle to the visit, but it must make a substantial contribution to a lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The first step, however, was to ascertain whether the Russians were going to show any flexibility on their present position: whether they were looking for a way out of a tough international problem; or whether they had "swallowed" Afghanistan and were going to smile briefly at the West in order to have trade with the cold war", it continued.

Under cover of its "shuttle diplomacy" the West was carrying out long-planned schemes, including an attempt last week to stage a counter-revolutionary "Putsch" in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister said: "Pakistan air space is not more than a politi-

cal screen."

Pakistan, today prevented a Soviet aircraft from being shot down by the Air Force when it reportedly landed in the

Pakistan air space this morning close to Afghanistan border.

A Pakistan Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "Pakistan air

craft intercepted the twin turbo-engine aircraft over Chirat.

Warning bursts were fired. But President Zia's injunction against causing harm to the Soviet crew was radioed to the intercepting pilots.

The intruder was escorted back to within five miles of the Afghan border.

On it was pointed out in Paris before the President left, would not be the dominant theme of his talks in the Gulf states.

All the same, M. André Giraud, the Minister for Industry, who is a member of the French delegation, together with the ministers for foreign affairs, foreign trade and culture, had talks today with the Kuwait Oil Minister on guaranteed supplies at least for the present year, in view of Kuwait's decision to cut production by a quarter from April 1.

The Kuwait Government does not believe that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is a first step towards the control of the Gulf oil fields. This view is shared by the French.

## Russia attacks plan for neutralization

Moscow, March 2.—Western calls for the neutralization of Afghanistan are just "political decoration" designed to disguise American-led plans to reopen the cold war, the news paper *Sovietische Rundschau* said today.

It added that the recent波瀾 of diplomatic moves in Western Europe over Afghanistan was no more than a political

intrusion.

Under cover of its "shuttle diplomacy" the West was carrying out long-planned schemes, including an attempt last week to stage a counter-revolutionary "Putsch" in Afghanistan.

"But under the cover of these political decorations they are weaving the threads of a plot against peace, a return to the cold war", it continued.

Several left-wing student unions have already announced that they will refuse to accept the new contract which they regard as a "false solution".

David Watts writes: Mr. Douglas Hurd, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, yesterday indicated the three-pronged approach of the British Government's neutrality plan for Afghanistan.

He said the plan was by no means complete and there was need for considerable consultation with allies and "a good

number of other countries" which was probably a means of putting pressure on Europe to back away from the United States position.

But no official statement was issued about this alleged violation.

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## OVERSEAS

## Changes in China strengthen the position of Mr Deng and serve as a warning to his opponents

From David Bonavia  
Hongkong, March 2

The latest changes in the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party have strengthened the position of Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the vice-chairman to the point where he is the unchallenged and undisputed leader of the nation. He will now have no difficulty in pushing the economic and social policies which he and his associates have been working out since the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976.

The dismissal of four leading leftist from the Politburo will serve as a warning to the rest of the nation that civil administrators and army generals will have to go along wholeheartedly with Mr. Deng's policies, or suffer similar fate.

briefly, Mr. Deng's plans for China are for greatly expanded economic ties with the Western world, Japan and Hongkong, as well as powerful material incentives for workers and peasants, and a freer intellectual atmosphere for administrators, researchers and teachers.

A measure of Mr. Deng's confidence in his new team of party and government administrators is that he has rehired

quished the post of Chief of the General Staff of the Army, handing it over to General Yang Dezhi as a token of recognition for his role in organizing the "self-defensive counter-attack" against Vietnam a year ago.

Chairman Hua Guofeng, who retains the post of Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister, may well lose the latter designation at a session of the party secretariat-general held by Mr. Deng until his disgrace in 1967.

Mr. Deng's favoured candidate for the Premiership is believed to be Mr. Zhao Ziyang, an experienced provincial administrator who has been brought on at almost record speed and is now a member of the all-powerful Politburo standing committee.

The four top men who have been dismissed are General Wang Dong Xing, who was formerly responsible for the safety of Mao and his associates, and for the Central Committee archives; General Chen Xilian, former commander of the Peking military region; Mr. J. I. Deshui, a left-leaning expert on agriculture; and a former confidant of Mao; and Mr. Wu De, the former Mayor

of Peking who has never been forgotten for his role in supporting the 1976 coup on the city's Tian An Men Square which brought about the second temporary disgrace of Mr. Deng. Promoted together with Mr. Zhao to the standing committee is Mr. Wu Yaobang, an experienced party organizer who has taken on the newly-created role of party secretary-general held by Mr. Deng until his disgrace in 1967.

The rebuilt institutions of party and government power are strikingly similar to those which China modelled on the Soviet system of the late Stalin period, dismantling them progressively in the 1960s and 1970s.

For all his own bitter experience of negotiating with the Russians in the 1960s, Mr. Deng appears to feel that their social and political structure was spoilt by the policies of Nikita Khrushchev, and that everything can be put right by going back to the system he modified.

Still, China is apparently trying to avoid imitating the oppressive, police state society which Stalin created. The changes in the leadership take place against a background of liberalization of Chinese cultural life and contacts with foreign countries.

Meanwhile, the freedom of expression guaranteed under the Chinese constitution—which burst forth at Peking "democracy wall" in late 1978 and continued until the wall was recently cleaned up and banned to protesters—is under attack from Mr. Deng and his team.

They propose to strike out the four "big freedoms" which Mao decreed for the Chinese people—the right to speak out, put up posters, carry on debates, and "bloom" a synonym for expression of unorthodox views.

By way of compensation, Mr. Deng has organized local government elections throughout the country in recent months. Contrary to past practice there have been between 20 per cent and 50 per cent more candidates than there are elected offices, a tentative stab at democratic procedures.

The other great achievement of the post-Mao leadership has been the introduction of a new code of criminal and procedural laws, under which the previous system of arbitrary arrest, detention, and execution has been denounced as unjust.

How the new laws will be administered in practice will be a test of the leadership's commitment to providing more personal freedoms within a stable and authoritative political framework.

Four of the new team in China: (top) Mr. Hua Yaobang and Mr. Zhao Ziyang, (below) Mr. Wan Li of the central committee, and General Yang Dezhi.

## Nobel sperm bank creator denies goal of elite race

From Ivor Davis  
Los Angeles, March 2

The California optimist who has been criticized for starting a sperm bank containing donations from only Nobel Prize-winning scientists, says that creating a master race was not his intention. He discusses with comparisons between what he is doing and the Nazi theories of building an elite.

"I don't know that much about Hitler and his vision,"

Mr. Robert Graham said to journalists in the garden of his 10-acre property. "but I don't see any parallel. We are not thinking of a super race, we are thinking in terms of a few more creative, intelligent people who otherwise would not be born."

In fact, Mr. Graham said, he hoped that sperm banks would be started for "Olympic gold medallists, artists, or movie stars."

He said he began soliciting Nobel scientists' sperm in 1976 for the "Humanity in Multi-Repository," named after the 1946 winner of the Nobel Prize in medicine, who died at the age of 76 in 1957 and had strong views on the declining endowment of the human race.

The bank provides sperm at no cost to women who are young, married, of high intelligence, whose husbands are infertile. So far, Mr. Graham said, three women have been inseminated, though it is not known if they are pregnant, and "several dozen women around the country have expressed an interest in following suit."

The Los Angeles Times reported today that of 23 Nobel scientists contacted, 11 said they had been approached by Mr. Graham. All, but Dr. William B. Shockley of Stanford University, who shared the 1956 Nobel Prize for physics, said they had turned down the request.

Dr. Shockley, aged 70, said that the repository was a remarkable attempt, and I'm thoroughly in sympathy with this sort of approach. The scientist, controversial for his genetic theories of intelligence, said he was disappointed that more of his fellow Nobel scientists had not been willing "to add their names to this good cause."

Dr. Max Delbrück, winner of the 1969 prize in physiology, said: "I think it's pretty silly."

At the Salk Institute in La Jolla, California, Dr. Robert Holley, who took the prize for medicine in 1969 and turned down Mr. Graham's invitation to donate sperm, said: "What surprises me is that any woman would want this. But I guess people are entitled to do what they want."



In full voice during the Rhodesian campaign, Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of the Zanu (PF) leader

## Embassy guerrillas release five hostages and issue bomb threat

Bogota, March 2.—Left-wing guerrillas inside the Dominican Republic Embassy in Bogota released five of the 11 hostages they had threatened to blow up the building and kill the others they are holding if their demands were not met.

The guerrillas have demanded the release of 311 prisoners, the withdrawal of troops surrounding the embassy, and release of Señor Ricardo Galán, the Mexican Ambassador. He was dressed in jeans and a green sweater. They climbed into the back of the van which contains four wooden chairs and sat down.

Two unnamed Colombian Government officials, dressed in dark suits and ties, were already seated in the van which has its back open to the embassy.

About 24 guerrillas of the "M-19" movement shot their way into the embassy during a diplomatic reception on Wednesday. They have now released 23 hostages, but are still holding more than 30, including 13 ambassadors.

Señor Hugo Escobar, the Minister for Justice, told reporters the guerrillas had threatened to blow up the building and kill the ambassadors and themselves if their demands were not met.

He said the situation was serious, adding: "One thing must remain clear from now on, whatever happens the primary responsibility will lie on the subversives."

Señor Escobar said the Government's main aim was to

protect the lives of the hostages but that it was also looking for a way to reconcile this with the demands of the country's sovereignty.

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The guerrillas have been in constant touch with the Colombian Foreign Ministry by telephone from the embassy since they took it over on Wednesday afternoon. They are also reported to have been in touch with the Vatican because one of the hostages is a Papal nuncio.

Panama has already offered the guerrillas asylum if they are allowed free passage to the airport, and a Panamanian air-force transport carrier has been sitting on the tarmac at Bogota airport since Saturday.

## President Tito continues to weaken

From Desa Tivat, Belgrade, March 2

President Tito's doctors reported last night that his condition had taken a turn for the worse. His heart had weakened and his general state had continued to deteriorate.

The daily medical report, which is customarily released at midday, was delayed by an hour today. Carefully phrased to avoid giving the impression that the end is imminent, it nevertheless leaves no doubt that the downward trend continues steadily.

All the body's vital functions have been either weakened or stopped. The kidneys are supported by a dialysis machine, to avoid giving the impression that the end is imminent, it nevertheless leaves no doubt that the downward trend continues steadily.

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On Friday the doctors issued a statement that in spite of intensive treatment the 87-year-old President's condition had shown no improvement. That amounted to telling the nation that medicine had done everything within its power.

Meanwhile, President Brezhnev has sent a message hoping for President Tito's recovery. The message contained a reply to a message sent in President Tito's name to the Soviet and American leaders early last week expressing apprehension over the state of detente.

Mr. Brezhnev is understood to have stated the Soviet Union's point of view. A few days earlier President Carter stated the American position on the "neutralization" of Afghanistan.

The Yugoslavs have voiced their preference for a non-aligned as distinct from neutral Afghanistan. Their reticence stems from the fact that neutrality suggests a solution imposed from outside.

Yugoslavia is convinced that Moscow is trying to turn the issue into a bilateral question between the United States and the Soviet Union to be resolved in the context of the two powers' interests and ignoring the non-aligned nations that have urged a Soviet withdrawal and a fully independent Afghanistan which would be a member of the non-aligned movement.

## Hanoi presents emigrant list

Hanoi, March 2.—Hanoi has handed over to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees a list of more than 30,000 people wishing to leave Vietnam for family reunification or resettlement overseas, an authoritative source said.

However, few people have actually left because "some receiving countries do not wish yet to accept legal emigrants."

## Mr Botha may blame riots on Transvaal party leader

From Ray Kennedy  
Johannesburg, Mar 2

Mr. F. W. Botha, the South African Prime Minister, may attempt to make Dr Andries Treurnicht, the right-wing leader of the ruling National Party in the Transvaal, take responsibility for the Soweto riots.

The report of the commission of inquiry by Mr Justice Peters Cillie into the causes and effects of the 1976 riots, is to be debated in Parliament on Friday. The report blames apartheid injustice and official bungling.

Dr Treurnicht was Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education at the time. He is the only man whose department was directly involved and is still in the Government.

The commission reported that two witnesses said that a parliamentary reply given by Dr Treurnicht five days before Soweto erupted "tipped the scales towards unrest".

He had said that five Soweto schools had been refused exemption from the rule that subjects were taught in Afrikaans and English on a 50-50 basis. That showed that the door to concession had been closed, one witness said.

The commission found that the language rule was the catalyst that led to the outbreak of rioting, and subsequently 575 deaths in violence throughout the country.

Continued from page 1

Hindus "impure" used when going to the fields to defecate or making love, never for eating.

I used to go to the Harijans' quarter some evenings to talk outside their huts, all mud and wattle, and not stone like most of the Vokkalgas' homes. "Where would the Vokkalgas get their labour from if not from us?" one sharp-witted Harijan labourer in his forties asked me.

Without waiting, he explained: "Like a bird catching putting out seed and the birds get used to it the day one they fall into the trap—that's how the Vokkalgas will always trap a Harijan with a net—taking over their lands after accustoming them to loans."

The history of this south Indian village over the past half-century has been of a gradual expansion of the land-hungry Vokkalgas at the expense of the lower castes, Harijans, and tribes whose forest lands were taken as the village population grew.

India's villages live segregated caste lines, even named after the caste which inhabits them: The Harijans usually live to one side of the village. In the Karnata village where I stayed there were even two separate lines of huts, one for the so-called "Left-hand" and the other for the "Right-hand" Harijans.

The division did not depend on which hand its members customarily used, but on local Hindu mythology, a heretofore-ordained division of musical instruments each group might play for money at upper caste feasts. The "Left-handers" disliked the "Right-handers" and were even poorer—the left hand is anyway to orthodox

only grants, not loans requiring repayment, and only tree seeds from the Government.

It is this discrimination derived from caste, but reinforced by day-labouring, indebtedness, the bigger farmers, and insecure tenancies which keep the village lower castes conservative from a crop of the year.

The Harijans still have to go to the market town to get a haircut or a shave. "Why don't you demand a haircut from the barber here in the village?" I asked them. "It would not be to our advantage. We do not want to challenge them," the 60-year-old Harijan village elder answered softly, the talk of replacing the Vokkalgas leadership, even mobilizing the Harijan and lower caste votes but it was also only talk.

If a Vokkalgas was in the barber's shop, he explained, nothing might happen at the time. But it would be remembered and remembered when the Untouchables sought a certificate say from the village headman who is the representative on the district level development board to obtain Harijans' free home to building materials.

"I am educating one of my sons in Bangalore", the elder emphasized proudly. "Education people know how to manage their lives better and it has raised my status in the village too." The elder is often referred to as gouda, farmer, contrasting with epithets like "bastard" with which the Vokkalgas often address ordinary Harijans.

Higher caste villagers were mystified imagining how society, say Britain's, could manage without norms as to whom one married or not and who did different jobs and who "naturally" led and who, as naturally, obeyed.

Harijans in the villages resent the discrimination, but the departure of their young potential leaders increasingly to the urban world has hampered any organized challenge to the "caste" system from below.

## Caste system still dominates Indian society

The caste system is the natural order of society, with two fundamental social elements—marriage within one's own caste or sub-caste and the practice of taking food among fellow caste members, I found: no one, young or old, high or low caste, in the villages prepared to think of marrying outside his caste group.

There is a third fundamental element to the caste system—the demarcation of certain jobs to each caste which preordains the Harijans always perform the most menial.

Talking one evening in a Gujarat village with a tanner and shoemaker—a Harijan's trade because it involves handling "impure" animals, cattle, pigs, etc.—I asked him if he wished to see his village. Straightaway he said: "Not to me, but my son should not have to be a tanner." The only way he saw that happening was through education and getting one of the city jobs in the bureaucracy reserved for Harijans.

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Harijans in the villages resent the discrimination, but the departure of their young potential leaders increasingly to the urban world has hampered any organized challenge to the "caste" system from below.

## Toni Schmücker, chairman of Volkswagen, on the future for European car producers.

### Jean-Louis Burban, on Europe at Sixes and Nines.

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## OVERSEAS

## Khmer Rouge leader sees next two months as the turning point of war with Vietnam

From Neil Kelly  
Siem Reap Province,  
Kampuchea, March 2  
Mr Khieu Samphan, the leader of the ousted Khmer Rouge Government of Kampuchea, said today that the next two months could see the turning point in the war against Vietnam.

"There are only two more months to the rainy season," he said in an interview with *The Times*. "It will be a period of strenuous struggle, two months of life or death fighting."

At his secret headquarters in the northern province of Siem Reap he said that Vietnam was facing many difficulties at home and was becoming more isolated in the international arena. Time was running short for the Vietnamese and they would use all their military forces now to crush resistance.

Although they are leaders without a capital, hiding out in the jungle, Mr Khieu Samphan and his supporters—including Mr Long Sary, the People's Prime Minister responsible for foreign affairs—show no signs of a new policy.

"There are only two more months to the rainy season," he said in an interview with *The Times*. "It will be a period of strenuous struggle, two months of life or death fighting."

At his secret headquarters in the northern province of Siem Reap he said that Vietnam was facing many difficulties at home and was becoming more isolated in the international arena. Time was running short for the Vietnamese and they would use all their military forces now to crush resistance.

"We must cooperate with all the people, including those in Vietnamese-controlled areas for they are still our people and they are suffering," he said.

Mr Khieu Samphan, who at 49 is a youthful, sturdy man with a ready smile, said during the two-hour interview that Vietnam had killed "not less than 1,000 million Kampuchians" by military action, including the use of toxic gas and chemicals, acts of terrorism and by starvation.

Kampuchea, he said, had defeated two separate Vietnamese offensives in the past five months of dry season. The Vietnamese had been forced to "crush our resistance," he said, "that they have eight divisions of about 80,000 men, bogged down in the north-east and central regions, where they badly need them in the west."

He described the north-eastern, central and western guerrilla fronts as "the hottest," but said fighting was also going on east and south of Phnom Penh. His forces held



Mr. Khieu Samphan: An offer of free elections.

"In some areas," he said, "50 to 60 per cent of the people have been exterminated. Villages with 100 houses have only 20 inhabited. People are dying every day from starvation because the Vietnamese distribute food only in Phnom Penh and one or two other towns."

He said that when the Vietnamese invasion began his Government's regular soldiers numbered 100,000; now there were 50,000. He declined to give more details.

Mr. Khieu Samphan said some Kampuchean refugees now in Thailand were already coming back and more would return when they could find safe areas.

"There are some safe areas," he said, "but the return will be little by little."

His Government's future policy was to work for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, national independence, a general election supervised by

United Nations armed forces and freedom for the people to choose a government of any ideology—Communist, capitalist or middle-of-the-road.

## Nuclear reactor leak in India

From Our Own Correspondent  
Delhi, March 2

A primary coolant pipe at one of India's nuclear power reactors at Tarapur, near Bombay, recently started leaking, but a Harrisburg-type disaster was avoided because the reactor was not running at the time, Indian experts revealed here this weekend.

The Department of Atomic Energy has confirmed the leak in the coolant pipe after keeping quiet about the accident for more than a week. But the department emphasized that the leak had been "insignificant".

According to experts, however, if the General Electric-built reactor had been running at the time, a core melt-down would have been a distinct possibility.

The two reactors, each of a 210 megawatt capacity, were commissioned in 1976 and have had several operational defects, but the coolant pipe leaks were the most serious.

**European Law Report**

## Court ruling on discrimination in drinks duties

Between Commission of the European Communities application numbered 169/78, to the Court of Justice, 165/79, France, Italy (169/78), Denmark (171/78), to defendants.

Before the president, Judge H. Kuisch, and judges A. O'Keeffe, A. Tomasi, J. M. de Wilmars, P. Pescatore, Lord Mackenzie Stuart, G. Bosco, T. Koopmans and O. Due. Mr Advocate-General: G. Reischl. Judgment given on February 27.

The Commission brought proceedings under Article 169 of the EEC Treaty against five member states asking the Court of Justice to rule that the Treaty by giving preferential tax treatment to home-produced alcoholic drinks to other similar or competing drinks from other member states.

The action against the United Kingdom concerned an alleged breach of Article 95 involving the excise duty on still light wines of fresh grapes. The Italian Government brought proceedings on the side of the Commission.

The Commission asserted that, taking account of the competition which exists between beer and beer, the United Kingdom taxation of beer is discriminatory in that it affords indirect protection to domestic beer.

The first part of the judgment concerned mainly with the interpretation of the second paragraph of Article 95. The Court held that the second paragraph to be applicable it suffices to show that a particular fiscal system is capable of producing the effect referred to in the Treaty.

Although the majority of factors to be deduced from figures concerning the effect of a specific fiscal mechanism are not to be disregarded, the Commission cannot be required to furnish statistical data on the precise situation as regards the protective effects of the mechanism claimed.

On the question of competition between beer and beer in the United Kingdom, according to the Commission such a competitive relationship exists and there is a possibility of substituting one for the other, which is real as regards certain categories and at least potential for the remainder.

The Irish Government contended that the domestic tax factor and the rate of duty imposed, which was the same for all that Irish whiskey producers are at a competitive disadvantage in relation to Scotch whisky because of the differing rates of the Irish and British excise duties.

Rejecting these defences the Court held that the basis of assessment of the method of collection of duty is relevant to Article 95, as shown by other cases dealt with by the Court. As regards the two "green pounds", it pointed out that a monetary problem cannot be resolved by fiscal discrimination.

As to the difference in favour of beer in the present problem by harmonization measures, the Court said that the application of Article 95 and 100 cannot be raised as a condition precedent to the enforcement of Article 95.

The following judgment was given:

less territory than five months ago when they controlled one-quarter of Kampuchea, Vietnam another quarter, while the other half was disputed by guerrilla forces.

"The loss of territory is not important," he said. "Our struggle is to maintain our forces and inflict casualties."

He added: "We make mostly hit-and-run attacks with small groups of soldiers, sometimes groups of eight or 10. The enemy cannot deal with that sort of thing because their morale is low and they don't know the country as we do. We are fighting for our own race, as well as our country, against an enemy trying to exterminate us."

Mr. Khieu Samphan said that Mr. Heng Samrin, who heads the Vietnamese-installed Government, had no such thing as an army. His only supporters were some Kampuchean who had been living in Vietnam.

"There are only two more months to the rainy season," he said in an interview with *The Times*. "It will be a period of strenuous struggle, two months of life or death fighting."

At his secret headquarters in the northern province of Siem Reap he said that Vietnam was facing many difficulties at home and was becoming more isolated in the international arena. Time was running short for the Vietnamese and they would use all their military forces now to crush resistance.

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United Nations armed forces and freedom for the people to choose a government of any ideology—Communist, capitalist or middle-of-the-road.



This B-29A Superfortress landed at Duxford, near Cambridge, yesterday to become a museum piece after a 6,500-mile flight, in stages, from Tucson, Arizona. It will be on display from March 15.

Photograph by John Pridmore

## Mr Reagan promises America a return to the good old days

From Michael Leapman  
Miami, March 2

Before launching into his speech to 2,000 enthusiastic supporters in Savannah, Georgia, yesterday Mr Ronald Reagan turned aside. He looked down from the podium to the group of musicians in straw boaters who had been stirring the nostalgia of an audience feasting on barbecue pork from paper plates.

"Before I begin," he said, "I'd like to thank these guys who brought back memories of the big-band era. Keen, it goes, was a wonderful time." His supporters cheered.

Mr Reagan, aged 63, an erstwhile film star and former governor of California, is the big-band candidate, promising to turn back the clock, to restore to America the strength and spirit which, according to folklore, it enjoyed in his youth.

A hand-written poster displayed at yesterday's rally put the point concisely. "Tired of social experiments?" it asked. "Vote Reagan."

Other Republican candidates—notably Mr John Connally, the former governor of Texas—endorse the same philosophy, which finds a ready response here in the conservative South. If Mr Reagan's acs seems to go down best it is probably because he has been doing it longer than anyone else.

This week and next the South makes its voice heard in the presidential primaries. Only the Republicans will vote in South Carolina next Saturday. The following Tuesday, March 11, both parties will primaries in Georgia, Alabama and Florida.

The policies espoused by Mr Bush do not differ much from those of the others but tries to separate himself by promoting a youthful, clean-cut image. Before Thursday's debate he was photographed as he jogged with 300 students. By emphasizing his athletic prowess he hopes to focus attention on Mr Reagan's age.

The physical exercise may have put him in too benign a mood for the ensuing confrontation, at least in the view of his advisers, who felt that he was not nearly combative enough. Next morning he tried

to repair the harm by calling a press conference to criticize Mr Reagan sharply, pointing out his high spending record as Governor of California as being inconsistent with his policy of reducing government spending.

Mr Bush may also have been harmed by a campaign by conservatives to exploit his former membership of the Trilateral Commission, a foreign affairs group founded by Mr David Rockefeller.

Advertisement in Florida newspapers today portray the Republican as more consistent in his policies than once seemed.

Mr Bush, in particular, is looking decidedly shabby, although he is the best political recruit in the administration's "administrative detention centre" controlled directly by the Presidency through one of the security branches. State of Emergency legislation, passed in 1960, decreed that any "individual deemed dangerous to public security" could be held indefinitely, without trial.

This is where Mr Anderson, a trim 55-year-old, with a mane of snow-white hair and a pair of dark horn-rimmed glasses, comes in. He is the only real moderate in the Republican pack and if the latest public opinion polls are to be believed he is already beginning to chip away some of the support which once went to Mr Bush.

Among the Democrats, this is an unchallengeable Carter country. Senator Edward Kennedy has virtually conceded as much and has seldom been here. His only visit last week was to address students in Alabama. They heckled him severely for his pains.

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With few funds at his disposal, Mr Anderson has long decided to make Massachusetts the basis for his challenge against the two apparent front-runners. He is the only candidate to have spent the whole of the past week moving across the state from reception to rally in a concerted effort to win at least a third place finish on Tuesday.

## Secretarial and Non-secretarial Appointments also on page 23

TEMPTING TIMES



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2. The costs are to be borne by Denmark.

Between June 1st and September 30th, 1980, the costs are to be borne by Denmark.

The case against Italy was based on the fact that spirits distilled from cereals and sugar cane (most of which is produced in Italy) are subject to a much higher duty than spirits made from wine or from marc (fruit pulp) which can be made in Italy.

The court did not consider it necessary to decide whether the two groups of spirits distilled from cereals and sugar cane (most of which is produced in Italy) are subject to a much higher duty than spirits made from wine or from marc (fruit pulp) which can be made in Italy.

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## Commercial property

### Developers still look to London

Further large scale development in London is heralded by the announcement that detailed planning consent has been granted for a new office scheme of 112,000 sq ft on the site of the former headquarters of David Grieg in Waterloo Road, SE1, opposite Waterloo station.

The developers are Lea-cliff Properties and construction is due to start shortly with completion of the spring of 1982. Designed by Scott, Brownrigg and Turner, the offices will occupy nine floors overlooking a landscaped garden square at the rear. A tenant will have complete flexibility in choice of layout for either

partitioned offices or open plan.

Car parking will be provided. Letting will be through Richard Ellis.

Another large commercial scheme is one planned for Plymouth, where proposals by Stonechester, a property company of Bath and Bristol, are to be recommended for acceptance by the city council at its meeting today. The scheme is to develop the last remaining three-acre site at Arndale Way. Cost is estimated at about £10m. Designed by Igal Yawetz and Associates it will create a new shopping area at street level between Mayflower Street and Arndale Way, in the form of a covered precinct leading to a central square. The main features will be a store of 45,000 sq ft for Sainsbury, and several units of between 5,000 sq ft and 20,000 sq ft. There will also be a hotel of 160 bedrooms, to be operated by Hilton International.

Construction by George Wimpey is expected to start next year and the joint agents are Harrell, Taylor and Cook of Bristol, and Healey and Baker.

In Belgium, what must be

the first fully speculative office development for many

years has just been announced for the central area of Brussels. The scheme is to be carried out by Shamrock Belgium, which is being advised by Jones Lang Wootton. The scheme is at 11/17 Rue Marie Therese, adjacent to Britannia House, home of the British Embassy, and is in the Quartier Latin, a prime office location.

The building will consist of 2,500 sq m of offices on ground and five upper floors,

with parking for 40 cars on two basement levels. Completion is due next year. Setting will be through Jones Lang Wootton.

Back in Britain, London and Manchester Securities in association with Taylor Woodrow has been selected from a short list of five developers to carry out the re-development in Lancashire. The decision is due to be ratified by the local borough council, which owns the four-acre site on March 11. Designed by the Hull Smith Partnership of Leeds, the scheme, which will cost about £11m, will include a covered shopping mall, parking for 750 cars and new offices for the council.

Rental space will total about 140,000 sq ft and will

include a departmental superstore, a variety store, two large units and 16 shops. Discussions have taken place with Littlewoods, Boots and W.H. Smith for the major units. Construction is expected to start in the autumn, with completion by Christmas, 1982. The developers were advised by Hillier Parker May and Rowden and J. Trevor & Sons of Manchester, and both will be retained as letting agents.

In London, Wang (UK), the multinational computer and office systems firm, has

taken possession of offices

in Carlton House, 100 George Street, W1, which became

available as a result of the

move of London Merchant Securities to its new headquarters in Robert Adam Street. A rent of £200,000 a

year was being asked when it came on to the market last October.

Carlton House, completed in 1971, has about 11,000 sq ft of air conditioned offices, plus some separate residential and executive accommodation, some of which has also been taken by Wang (UK).

Conrad Ribbitt and Co acted for London Merchant Securities in the transaction, and Wang (UK) was

represented by Smith, Malzach and Co.

In Torquay, Ashville has sold its Commerce House office scheme at the junction of Abbey Road and St Luke's Place to the Merchant Navy Officers' Pension Fund for over £900,000.

Designed by the Preese Payne Partnership of Gloucester, the recently completed building has a total

of 19,750 sq ft on five floors.

About half that total has been let to tenants which include Commercial Union, Cooperative Insurance Society, and Midland Bank Trust.

The remaining space is available at £3 a sq ft. The building adjoins and has access to a multi-storey car park with a capacity of 750

cars. Joint letting agents are Irvine Nott and Co, of Torquay, and Leonard Green and Co which, with King and Co, acted for Ashville in the sale of the investment. The pension fund was advised by St Quintin.

In Scotland, a price of £2m is being asked for the freehold of the Monsanto industrial and warehouse complex at Dundonald, Ayrshire. The property is some three miles from Irvine New

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FOR MW UNIT-500 TURBINE-GENERATOR SETS  
(STEAM TYPE) & ACCESSORIES

1. Bids are invited for the supply, delivery, supervision of erection and commissioning of Water Flow, Water Treatment, Pumping and Control Exchangers, each having a heat exchanger, for the 500 MW Unit-500 at Tumkur Thermal Generating Station, Tumkur, India. The project is being implemented by Tumkur Thermal Generating Station, Tumkur, India. Exchangers should be delivered within 22 weeks from the date of award.

2. Bid documents will be available at the offices of Tata Consulting Engineers, Ltd., 18 Grosvenor Place, 1st flr., London W1X 9AS, UK, on 18th March 1980, 10.00 hrs. Bids will be drawn in favour of Tata Sons Ltd., a/c Tata Consulting Engineers, Ltd., 18 Grosvenor Place, 1st flr., London W1X 9AS, UK, on 18th March 1980, 10.00 hrs.

3. Bids will be received only at the office of Tata Consulting Engineers, Ltd., 18 Grosvenor Place, 1st flr., London W1X 9AS, UK, on 18th March 1980, 10.00 hrs.

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## SPORT

## Football

## United help to bury their hopes in East Anglian turf

By Stuart Jones

Ipswich Town 6 Manchester U 0  
The game of hope that has flickered across Manchester United's season was finally blown out on Saturday and the ashes of their championship ambitions were scattered over Portman Road. After a period in which it inexpressibly tormented the executives, United showed an astonishing desire to commit suicide.

In an extraordinary tactical blunder they ripped out the heart of their defence, Buschan and instructed him to follow Gates. The narrow-minded plan worked as far as Buschan was concerned, but failed miserably in its ignorance. Gates, slowly, waded deep and Manchester United seemed to see the spacious East Anglian plain ahead of him. Mariner and Brazil were handed the keys to the citadel of Manchester.

When can a goalkeeper have saved three penalties and still walked back to the dressing room a beaten man six times over? Yet Gates, with the arrival of Nicholl, who cleared off the line and Mariner and Mariner, the national figure he once was. The sole cloud hangs over the future of Mariner, who wants to return to his native land for family reasons. Commuting may be the solution.

As for Villa, similarly, have two on the Continent, after costing their successful run at the expense of the doomed Derby County. Arsenal who won by the odd goal in five at Stoke, have moved to Europe, the most immediately the first leg of their UEFA Cup tie against Valencia at Highbury. Both Terry Neil, the manager, and Don Howe, the coach, went to Antwerp to see their opponents, Gothenburg, win 1-0. Rice, missing at Stoke, should be fit.

Although Arsenal have games in hand over their scrapping colleagues, the final lap is noticeable the most forward. Even their remaining fixtures are over, including visits to Anfield and White Hart Lane. Southampton's cause was not helped by their uncharacteristic slip at the Dell, particularly at a place in UEFA Cup is their only hope of giving Keegan a taste of Europe next season.

Southampton's first tie is on Wednesday against Dynamo Berlin and will be without Lloyd, who is dropped, Anderson, suspended, and Bowles, ineligible.

Needham, Gurn and Bowyer step aside a side that gave Bolton Wanderers their first win since 1962. And, as far as the fans are concerned, the last of the season's first tie is on Saturday, Bolton's father, Ipswich's goalkeeper in the triumphant 1962 side, was not present to see his son's first.

United went in 3-0 down and decided to move Buschan back to where he belongs. By then, though, the damage had all too easily been done. Duxbury and Mills had moved to their own, East and Barley left aside support, and Gates freed from his handcuffs roamed wherever he was most wanted.

McBryde, alone, carried United's banner of threat. He offered one attempt to move, but the third lashed over the bar. If United's defense was so woeful that, for all their effort, Jordan and Macari might as well have plucked caps and sold ice cream to Ipswich's biggest crowd of the season.

David Seaman, United's manager,

blamed himself for the crushing defeat, but would not accept that Liverpool are now out of reach. "Don't let me worry," were his parting words to the gathered assembly. He may have wished, though, that Ipswich had not decided on Saturday to instigate formal press conferences after each game.

Bobby Robson, his counterpart, repeated his concession of the title to Liverpool, whose victory in the Merseyside curtain took them two points clear. It may be more topical to consider whether United can overtake United. Their sparkling run of 16 unbeaten matches has carried them from the bottom to the top, as much a denigration of those they have left behind as a tribute to their success.

Ipswich have done so after surgery that cut out the injured Woods, a blow that killed their hopes even before they had been born. The progress of Gates and Mariner has cemented the side and Mariner and Mariner, the national figure he once was. The sole cloud hangs over the future of Mariner, who wants to return to his native land for family reasons. Commuting may be the solution.

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Liverpool's Neal salutes his goal from the penalty spot against Everton.

## Liverpool not hustled out of stride

By Tom German

Everton 1 Liverpool 2

The script to the 1979-80 Merseyside derby encounter will remain indelible for infinitely longer than the outline of the match itself. That will soon recede into the shadows. "Dixie" Dean will not. It was at Everton as a high-scoring, connoisseur of goals, and a master of unparallelled ability in the air, that Dean became a household word even to Liverpool followers reluctant to acknowledge that Everton exist; it was at Goodison Park, now as an invited guest, that he died on Saturday, leaving a further shadow over a sad afternoon.

Tributes to his skills came from old footballing friends like Bill Shankly and Joe Mercer. If Dean himself had been offered a last wish, it could well have been to withdraw into legend at a more distinguished derby match than this. It was a moment of rare, if not unprecedented, restraint from the man who, despite his own singularly poor record, had been a legend in his own right.

The idea seemed to persist in Everton's mind that the champions were vulnerable to big, bustling attackers, and balls booted high into the surrounds of Liverpool's goal. Had they known Dean was in the air, they would have been more circumspect in their defense of the European Cup on Wednesday against Dynamo Berlin and will be without Lloyd, who is dropped, Anderson, suspended, and Bowles, ineligible.

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judged early on, to have been too vigorous.

Liverpool, too, were involved in some hasty clearances, especially when, as with Everton, he seemed and were working hard for a chance to equalise. Liverpool

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those Merseyside tussles no one bows the knee meekly. Everton, banting hard, were back in the match with 15 minutes left as a result of the high ball finally paid off.

Hartford's cross was headed back by McBride, and Estorre controlled it splendidly to score. There were two stretching saves from Clemente, the first tipping over the bar, an overhead hook by McBride, and then just getting his fingers to a tenacious cross from Hartford. It was enough to burnish Liverpool's prospects at the top and leave Everton still anxious, down among the stragglers.

Everton: G. Wood; J. Oldman, J. Bailey, G. Mullis, sub, P. Easton; J. King, B. Kidd, J. McBride.

LIVERPOOL: G. Clemente; F. Keay, A. McNamee, sub, J. Thompson; A. Hansen, K. Dalglish, J. Gove, D. McDermott, G. Souance.

Referee: G. Courtney (Surrey).

Leading goalscorers

FIRST DIVISION: 1. P. Barnes (Luton Town); 2. D. Hoddinott (Barnet); 3. M. Harper (Luton Town); 4. J. Thompson (Everton); 5. B. Mullis (Everton); 6. D. McDermott (Liverpool); 7. G. Souance (Everton).

SECOND DIVISION: 1. C. Allen (Rotherham United); 2. J. Allen (Rotherham United); 3. B. Mullis (Everton); 4. D. McDermott (Liverpool); 5. G. Souance (Everton).

THIRD DIVISION: 1. A. Hayes (Southend United); 2. A. Houghton (Southend United); 3. B. Mullis (Everton); 4. J. Thompson (Southend United); 5. J. Wilson (Southend United).

FOURTH DIVISION: 1. G. Naylor (Southport); 2. J. Thompson (Southport); 3. C. Garwood (Aldershot); 4. P. Fletcher (Huddersfield Town).

Obituaries, page 16

## In praise of West Ham and their fighting spirit

By Norman Fox

Football Correspondent

Without offering serious rivalry to the outstanding events near the top of the first division, the leading teams of the second, managed a few comfortable mid-season wins on Saturday. Birmingham City had taken a temporary lead on Friday night, but were removed by Chelsea, who were the only side in the top eight to gain two points.

"Character" means asserting authority over lesser teams, perhaps Leicester City and Newcastle United lack the quality, having lost at home to Oldham and Watford respectively. More seriously, it means the possession of fighting spirit. West Ham United have been accused of placing this essential quality low among their priorities but, in a 1-1 draw at Luton on Saturday, their ability to take some reward from a match that caused them many problems was worthy of note.

Any discussion of Luton's capability must begin with a word of surprise and admiration for their appearance as a potential first division team so soon after suffering the edges of complete financial disaster. That is character, resilience, determination to do more than survive.

Luton have some excellent players but are not yet in a position to see a long-term first division future. They hard for their guns but, on Saturday, faded towards the end, allowing Brookings to become a crucial influence after a quiet first half that cast doubts on his fitness. They took

in early lead when Lampard gave away a free kick that Ross swung across for Bill to volley in. Bill is one of Luton's most valuable players, a genuine athlete with defensive ability.

With half, Luton conceded some of their midfield control and had to rely on the strength of defenders, notably Stephens and Sastry. West Ham persuaded Brookings to go further forward and with the talented Devonshire beginning to make progress, they had the opportunity to make progress in the personal area that had been denied to them by the referee.

Brookings was making one of an increasing number of long runs into the penalty area, which disturbed his delicate balance. There was no alternative for the referee who gave a penalty that was met with anguish from local supporters, who felt deprived when Holland had done much the same to him seven of the season's six, well beyond Bill's reach but was returned with greater accuracy. Luton's frustration was understandable but a combination of sheer bad luck and the referee's decision that the ball had been kicked off after a tackle by Clegg, who was duly cautioned, as was Bill for an equally rash tackle on Thompson. John's nostrils were flaring, too, as he was substituted 10 minutes from the end and another sign towards their return to the top flight.

It is not quite like that at Parkhead, however. It may be an indication of a paucity of talent on the Scottish domestic football scene at the moment, but the side which is our own in the Premier League is far from being a good footballing side and an far from standing comparison with the magnificence of the late sixties.

No one is to blame. Bill McBryde, who accepted the European Cup in Lisbon in 1980, is working as hard as managing as he did as captain of the side. It is a good team, let's face it, but it is not the best. It is not the best in the country, nor the best in Europe, nor the best in the world.

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## SPORT

## Rugby Union

## Command performance from Wales

By Peter West

Rugby Correspondent

Wales 17 Scotland 6  
Wales were beaten by a tight 6-17 at Cardiff on Saturday when Wales, in a command performance before their Prince, achieved a victory over Scotland that was far more conclusive than the score suggests.

In one important respect they looked to be approaching the contest rather as a motorist who, after a nasty accident, is issued with a provisional licence after a repair to a seized engine. This still produced sufficient impetus for a margin of a goal, an penalty goal and two tries to a goal, but it needed some craftsmanship, with the Welsh defence, to keep it in bounds, as well as some chances—one from the hand and several from the boot—that Wales let slip themselves.

Scotland, who established but one genuine pressure position throughout (that was early on when Renwick missed a drop shot), were condemned mostly to running out of defence, although they were outplayed in the tight and yielded ruck or maul to opponents largely moving forward by a rough margin of two to one, they were able to limit Welsh scope and ambition by winning the lineout.

Then they took overall by 30-18 (by 19-10 in the first half when they had the ball) and were twice beaten. Wales won 11, Gray 10 and Beattie 5.

The young Scottish No 8, big, fast and athletic, looks an exciting prospect. Squire and Wheel were the most productive sources of Welsh supply. Morgan, having a somewhat quiet afternoon,

in spite of relative success in this area, Scottish difficulties were compounded by the indifferent quality of the palmer possession fronted by the loose forward, Renwick to Laidlow, which left him with double vision and demanded his retirement after 25 minutes, by a variable service then provided by Lawson, who was to prove a poor palmer. Gossman by Lane. The Scottish stand-off, none the less, marked his first appearance with a shrewd and sturdy effort.

Squire had a potent all-round game on the blind side flank for Wales, but Lane, on the other hand, enjoyed an even better one.

His fast and skilful running, reminiscent of a centre, and his capacity to score tries on the available have given him a new dimension and it will be surprising if he has not played himself on to the Lions tour.

A repeat of the Welsh side was a repetition of the Lions' side too. Both whose kicking was, and by his own high standards, had been variable, suffered a torn hamstring which will keep him out of the match in Dublin on Saturday week. Richard moved to stand-off. Peter Morgan emerged to win his first cap in the centre, and the Welsh midfield, so well serviced by Holmes,



Keen as mustard: the Welsh wing, Les Keen, evades Robertson on the way to a try.

continued with scarcely a hiccup to move with much panache.

Indeed, the two half backs who finished the game together stared the scrum half behind the scrum half, Holmes, as strong and resolute as ever, and Keen, who scored the first try when he stood off from a scrum half to chip ahead up the right hand touch line. Elgan Rees fastened markedly onto a happy bounce, and Holmes went over from his inside pass.

In the second half, with the issue certain, a Scottish scrum half was held, was beaten into disarray and when a couple of switches had bemused the opposition, Richards got a splendid try from a 15-metre lineout. Then, in an early weaving run by the full back in support of a break by Renwick. Later on, he was at the heart of an exciting break-out from the Scottish line but most of his forays proved abortive.

Richards picked up the Welsh penalty to open the scoring. Holmes' try made it 7-0 at the interval, by which time Scotland had withstood the fiercest pressure, including four Welsh scrum halves, to the line.

Morgan, Fenswick (twice) and Butler all but scored. Early in the second half Morgan

capped their final flourish with a thudding try. A relaxed Wales were attacking on a broad front around the Scottish 22 when first Gossman and then Beattie capitalized on a loose ball to score. For the right Robertson, the Scot to enjoy a fine game, took over on his own 10 metres line and set off on a clever, corkscrew run with Johnston on his right and Renwick on the other side. Eventually he got to the centre to elude Fenswick's tackle and score under the posts.

Irvine converted this try but, much earlier, had narrowly missed a kickable first half penalty from 35 metres out and, more culpably, from 10 metres in.

SCOTLAND: A. R. Irvine (Heriot's), N. E. Rees (Wales), D. S. Richards (Cardiff), P. Fenswick (Bridgend), G. Robertson (Edinburgh), P. Morgan (Cardiff), G. Beattie (Cardiff), D. Williams (Swansea), S. Holmes (Swansea), P. Fenswick (Swansea), A. D. (Abertillery), S. M. Lane (Cardiff), A. R. Gossman (Cardiff), J. Squire (Penbywn), captain.

Wales: L. Keen (Bridgend), N. E. Rees (Wales), D. S. Richards (Cardiff), P. Fenswick (Bridgend), G. Robertson (Edinburgh), P. Morgan (Cardiff), G. Beattie (Cardiff), D. Williams (Swansea), S. Holmes (Swansea), P. Fenswick (Swansea), A. D. (Abertillery), S. M. Lane (Cardiff), A. R. Gossman (Cardiff), J. Squire (Penbywn), captain.

Pedenotur's running was seldom direct enough and his kicking missed. The French centres passed constructively and Gourdon was the best back on the field. In general, and despite some signs of disorganization that has marred France's play throughout this year's championship.

Both Campbell and Patterson reiterated their claims to places in the team, though they heard only two other candidates among Ireland's must remain. Warriner, perhaps as an outstanding marauder, but his handling and passing was erratic: Clemente was unable to dominate at number 8 and Rives, by his standards, looked pale and borne down by the weight of responsibility.

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J. V. 1980

## SPORT

## Motor racing

**Arnoux sweeps to top as Renault fulfil their promise**

By John Blunsden

All the pre-race predictions were confirmed at Kyalami, Johannesburg, on Saturday afternoon when a Renault took the chequered flag to win the South African Grand Prix, the team's first victory in the 10-year history of the race.

It was almost a repeat performance of the Brazilian Grand Prix of a month ago, for once again the winning driver was the ever-smiling 31-year-old René Arnoux, who took over the lead in the closing stages when his team-mate Jean-Pierre Jabouille ran into trouble.

He seemed to be cruising to victory in Brazil, Jabouille's problem was a failed turbo-charger; on Saturday it was a punctured tyre, which led to the Renault passing the strands with just 17 of the 78 laps remaining.

His second consecutive victory has taken Arnoux to the top of the world championship table with 18 points, five more than Alan Jones, whose Leyland-backed Williams was running in fourth place at Kyalami before running into a transmission problem and lost 10 laps. In the course of his winning drive, Arnoux lowered the Kyalami lap record, previously held by Gilles Villeneuve, in 1min 41.41sec, to 1.12 in his 51st lap.

Having had an approximately two seconds per lap faster during practice, it was no surprise to find that the Renaults were quickly outstripping the rest of the field. The Ligier team, who had won the Kyalami circuit difficult for many years, had done their homework well this time. They were consistently in the vanguard of the pursuit, though without any real chance of passing the turbo-charged cars unless they ran into trouble.

So it seemed that the changes had increased their competitiveness, and with some new-found reliability, Laffite and Pironi were rewarded with second and third places, more than a minute behind the winning car.

After the disappointment in Brazil of the team's first victory, Piquet found his Brabham more competitive this time, and fourth place on top of his second in Argentina has consolidated his third place in the championship table behind Arnoux. Reutemann opened his points score by taking fifth place, followed by Williams, team-mate Massi, who collected a point for sixth place in his Arrows, after seeing his team-mate Patrese spin off after only 10 laps, following a braking problem.

Things are going from bad to worse for the Ferrari team, who have yet to pick up a championship point.

## Swimming

**Goodhew sets a magnificent example**

From a Special Correspondent

Palma, Majorca, March 2

English swimmers continued to haul out a merciless drubbing to all comers on the final day of an international meeting at Palma-de-Mallorca. The official England party, sponsored by Yorkshire Bank, finished up with 12 gold medals, and an all-international team from the Commonwealth Club accounted for a further eight, indeed only one event over the two days eluded their joint assault.

It must be said that the overseas successes were made easier by the non-appearance of several leading Europeans who

had been expected to compete. But to their great credit English swimmers still chose to push themselves close to the limit, instead of winning at half strength, as well they might have.

The men's captain, Duncan Goodhew, is in such magnificent form that he would probably have scored a double century if the opportunity had been given him.

He set the tempo in spite of suffering from a heavy chest cold which would have enabled him to take the easy option. After his world best for 1980 in the breaststroke sprint (1min 04.21 seconds) yesterday, he took the 200 metres event today with similar ease, if not with quite the same quality.

Things are going from bad to worse for the Ferrari team, who have yet to pick up a champion-

## Squash rackets

**A veteran looks in on modern game**

By Rex Bellamy

Squash Rackets Correspondent

There is not a lot of traffic between Quetta and Chichester at this time of year, or for that matter at any time of year. Mumtaz Khan's arrival in England on Saturday was unusual, too, in that it was the first time in his life he had travelled outside Pakistan or India. He teaches squash at Quetta, which is tucked up in the mountains on the road to Kandahar, and he came to Europe to visit two of his sons, and to compete in the over-55 event run in conjunction with the British open championship, which begins tomorrow at Chichester.

Ken Tyrrell must be quietly encouraged by the showing of his Tyrrell-Gulf cars, for Jarier only narrowly failed to take sixth place (in 1min 51.7sec, 1.7 seconds behind Massi) and Daly was also going well until he was hit by a puncture 18 laps from the end.

John Watson represented the McLaren team single-handed, after his young partner, Frost, broke his wrist in a practice accident, but was two laps adrift of the finish. Steve Griffen, seen to be the first driver to graze a shadow for a grand prix this year, and despite a variety of problems managed to bring the car home, albeit in last place among the 13 drivers.

Now, from the ranched air of Kyalami, the teams' next venue at the end of March, is the sea-level street circuit of Long Beach, California, where with some confidence I can predict a much closer-fought contest than that which took place in South Africa.

RESULTS: 1. R. Arnoux (Renault) 78 laps, 1hr 26 mins 52.54 secs. 2. D. Massi (Williams-Ford) 1.37-26.61; 3. D. Pironi (Ligier-Ford) 1.37-45.03; 4. N. Piquet (Brabham-Ferrari) 1.37-53.58; 5. C. Reutemann (Williams-Ford) 1.37-55.06; 6. Massi (Ligier-Ford) 1.37-44.35; 7. P. Jarier (Tyrrell-Ford) 1.37-56.05; 8. E. Pfitzner (Fittipaldi-Ford) 1.37-22.60; 9. C. Restazzone (Ensign-Ford) 1.37-26.93; 10. R. Zunino (Brabham-Ford) 1.37-32.44; 11. J. Watson (McLaren-Ford) 1.37-29.77; 12. C. Lewis (Shadow-Ford) 70 laps, 1.36-52.54.

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# The short list for the top people



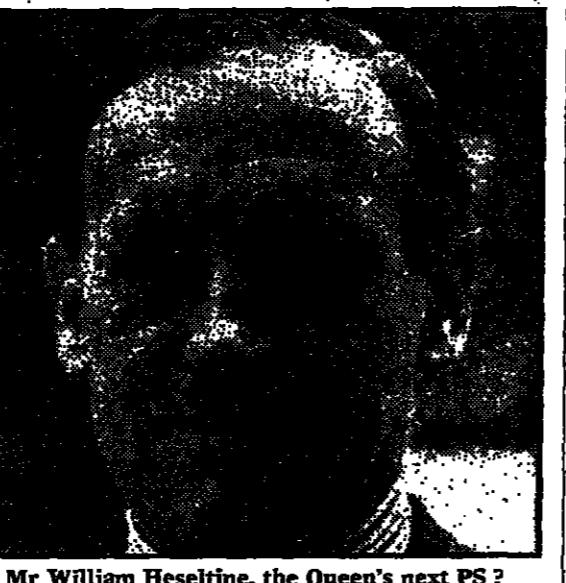
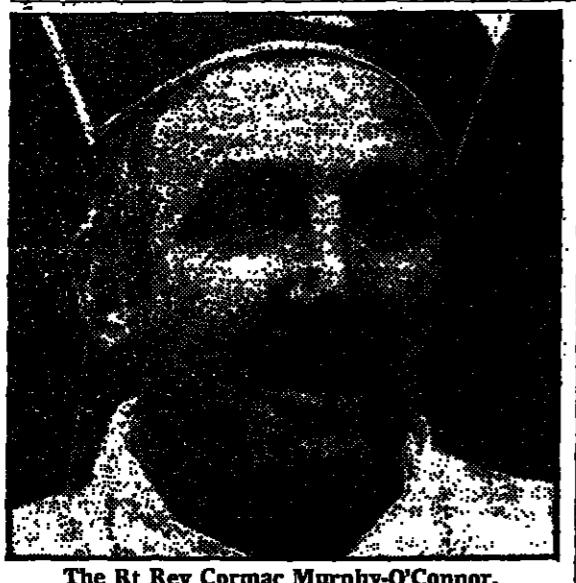
Mr Clive Whitmore : Secretary to the Cabinet ?



Lord Justice Geoffrey Lane : witty speaker.



Mr Arthur Scargill : NUM possible.



Mr Ted Hughes : popular Poet Laureate ?

At the end of each and every decade comes the inevitable reckoning of the score : the new year newspapers were full of the faces and names of those who had made it to the top in the seventies, who had come out of obscurity to dominate the arts, the sciences, politics. Amongst were the young hopefuls, those who are to make it in the next 10 years, juvenile leads, embryo tennis seeds, presidents of embryo and Cambridge universities. These said the captions, are the high flyers.

Where can they fly ? Leaving aside the arts and sciences, where talent is too unpredictable to be guessed at, and the sciences, where fame hangs on a quixotic combination of brilliance and luck, there is still the main forum of government, the old British establishment, which endure from decade to decade, and about which the pleasure of gossip never dies. These are the jobs like that of the secretary to the Cabinet, the chief of Defence Staff, the governor of the Bank of England. Who will reach the pinnacles is a matter for continuous speculation in the clubs of St James, and there is even a secretary for appointments in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr Colin Peterson, mulling over the matter year by year.

Reversing, therefore, the conventional order, and looking at jobs rather than people : who will fill these places in the eighties?

**Secretary to the Cabinet:** arguably the most important single civil service appointment since it consists of ensuring that the Prime Minister is never without proper advice, while running the network of Cabinet committees. Sir Robert Armstrong took over from Sir John Hume in 1979. The feeling in Whitehall is that the job needs continuity : the man who holds it stay on average eight years, and a candidate for the late 80s should, therefore, be no older than his mid 40s today.

Two possible contenders : Clive Whitmore, Mrs Thatcher's principal private secretary : born in 1935, made under-secretary at the Cabinet Office in 1977, still has time to go back to the Ministry of Defence—where he spent the best part of 20 years—as second or even first permanent secretary. Said by colleagues to be quick, hard working, with a good brain though not pure first class intellect ; liberal and easy going.

**Mr Robin Butler:** three years younger, former junior private secretary to Mr Heath, and later Sir Harold Wilson. At Treasury general expenditure in policy group since 1977, imaginative in the Thirties. Tant a real class scholar, and, say friends, adept at putting reality before Ministers in a manner acceptable to them. Former pupil and now a governor of Harrow School, he lists his recreations in *Who's Who* as "competitive games". Called by one admirer "the Renaissance Prince ideal".

**Permanent Secretary to the Treasury:** like the Cabinet Office position, a job demanding quick reactions in events, and of course, sound economic sense. Could come up shortly since Sir Douglas Wass, the current holder, was appointed in 1974 and the job is not normally held for more than four to five years.

Three possible contenders, Mr David Hancock, born in 1934, under-secretary in the external finance group at the Treasury since 1973. A man colleagues believe to be the sort of person who would want to project mainstream Treasury economics. Interested in politics by his reorganization of the Treasury a couple of years ago. A man of "mildly Labour views", he tends to put them across in the form of a somewhat scathing defence of the status quo.

**Sir Kenneth Couzens:** KCB born 1925, second permanent secretary (overseas finance) at the Treasury since 1977, represents mainstream Treasury views over income and industrial policy. Some Common Market affairs, is said to be somewhat unapproachable in character.

**Mr Peter Middleton:** under-secretary in the finance/economics unit of the Treasury. Former private secretary to Mr Tony Barber, who made him his officer when he did not care for the press. The Treasury was getting. Informal, agreeable, respected economist, and the closest the Treasury possesses to a monetarist.

**Head of the Home Civil Service:** unlikely the two previous jobs, an appoint-

ment said to require primarily a thinker rather than a doer, an able judge of character and a good organizer, particularly given the new emphasis on reducing the size and improving the efficiency of the Civil Service. If consistent with average length of stay in the job, Sir Ian Bancroft, appointed in 1978, should retire in 1982, making Sir Frank Cooper (permanent under secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence, born 1932) and Sir Patrick Menzies (permanent secretary at the Department of Health and Social Security, born 1921) too old. This leaves two favourites :

**Sir Brian Cubbon:** born 1928, permanent secretary of the Northern Ireland Office, and Mr Kenneth Stowe, born 1927, now a deputy secretary and also in the NI Office, with an impressive record, having come from the DHSS where he was an assistant under-secretary between 1970 and 1973. There is also one outside contender : Sir Derek Rayner, born 1926, the Prime Minister's adviser on the elimination of waste, made joint managing director of Marks and Spencers in 1973, and the man to whom Mrs Thatcher might turn if she wished to stake up the system. Equally, friends say, Sir Derek might prefer to return to M and S.

**Head of the Diplomatic Service:** Sir Michael Palmer, present incumbent, was born in 1922 so will be retiring in 1982. He leaves a job people compare in status to that of Ambassador to Washington, it goes right to a deputy in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office or to an ambassador. Said to be fraught with difficulties for a man more used to specialized knowledge of one part of the world rather than having an overall view of world affairs, puzzling to a stranger to the intricacies of Whitehall. Three possible : Sir John Thomson (b 1927), High Commissioner to India; he was assistant under-secretary of state at the FCO between 1973 and 1976, and has the right mixture of Whitehall experience and foreign posting. He lists his recreations in *Who's Who* as "cavorting".

**Mr Julian Babbott:** b. 1928, Fellow of All Souls, and minister to Bonn in 1975. Mr Ewen Ferguson, b. 1932, made assistant under-secretary of state at the FCO in 1978. (Recreations: "listening to music; wine tasting".)

**Lord Chief Justice and Master of the Rolls:** similar in the sense that candidates for one could perfectly well be candidates for the other.

The present Lord Chief Justice is Lord Widgery (b. 1911) and the job he holds is, it is sometimes argued, too much for any one man consisting as it does of being head of the Queen's Bench Division, requiring a good deal of administration, plus social responsibilities, presiding over the Queen's Bench Divisional Court, and being head of the criminal division of the Court of Appeal. The Master of the Rolls (currently Lord Denning b. 1899) presides over the civil division of the Court of Appeal, and since he can choose what cases come before him can have a certain influence over the development of civil law. The Lord Justice Scarman (b. 1911) is probably now too old for either job, which leaves three main contenders. In the short term : **Lord Justice Geoffrey Lane** (b. 1918), made Lord Justice of Appeal in 1974 and considered the wittiest of after dinner speakers; the right hon Lord Justice George Bridge, born a year earlier, and made Lord Justice of Appeal a year later, and former treasurer of the Poor at Law Justice John Donaldson (b. 1920) Judge of the High Court of Justice Queen's Bench Division since 1966 and unpopular under the Labour Government as president of the National Industrial Relations Court of Appeal. Would be a more likely candidate in a couple of years. Known as a sailor and radio host.

To contenders in the longer term : Hon Sir Gordon Slynn b. 1930, leading counsel to the Treasury 1974-78 when made a Judge of High Court of Justice (Queen's Bench Division), and Hon Sir Hugh Griffiths, b. 1923, Judge of High Court of Justice (Queen's Bench Division) since 1971.

**Chief of the Defence Staff:** Rotating job occupied in turn by the top serviceman of each of the three forces, for a two to three-year stretch. It is therefore possible to know now that General Sir Edwin Bramall, Chief of the General Staff (not head of the Army) will be the Chief of Defence Staff on the retirement of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Terence Lewin (who took over in 1979).

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## THE ARTS

## Butterflies and phantoms

Le Fantôme de L'Opéra  
Paris Opéra

John Percival

The butterflies have taken over. Close behind Ronald Hynd's *Papillon* at Sadler's Wells, there is another butterfly ballet, forming one scene of Roland Petit's latest creation for the Ballets de l'Opéra in Paris. Bearing in mind Balanchine's dictum that it is no bad thing for ballers to be as ephemeral as butterflies, I may add that Petit's ballet does not, any more than Hynd's, have about it the air of a long-term addition to the repertory.

Indeed, considering that in mood and approach the two works are at opposite extremes, it is surprising how much they have in common: both built primarily around a man, with the ballerina in a passive role; both stronger in their theatrical elements; both with weaknesses of construction compensated by interesting music and excellent dancing.

It was Rolf Liebermann, general administrator of the Paris Opera, who commissioned the composer Marcel Landowski and the choreographer Petit to make a ballet based on the famous novel by Gaston Leroux *Le Fantôme de l'Opéra*. Liebermann began his regime (which included the centenary of the present opera house) with a production of Gluck's *Orpheus*, incorporating in its decor motifs from the architecture of the building. Now he ends it with

The music is not such as you



Peter Schaufuss and Dominique Khalifouni

Rose  
Duke of York's  
Irving Wardle

As a gesture of confidence in the West End there has been nothing for years to compare with the refurbished Duke of York's: an erstwhile graveyard of short runs now transformed into a mini-Haymarket sparkling with polished brass, two-tone plasterwork and gilded pilasters. Whether or not the cultural assumptions it arouses are facing extinction, it is now a proud example of what people used to mean by a London theatre, and if top hats were still being worn they should be raised to Capital Radio and Peter Saunders.

It also stirs your confidence to see the chandelier fade under the wedding-cake dome, giving way to a severely well-equipped lighting rig which proceeds to do full atmospheric justice to the few simple properties on John Gunter's otherwise demurred stage. Stage and auditorium present a stark confrontation between new and old, and the two cohabit very comfortably.

Finally, in one of the worst weeks for new writing I can remember, Andrew Davies turns the tide with a piece that would have earned a place on St

The Liberty Suit  
Royal Court

Ned Chailliet

The surprising thing about *The Liberty Suit* is that it had to wait for the Sense of Ireland festival to make its way to London. Beyond doubt it was the big success of the Dublin Theatre Festival three seasons ago, when it also featured a leading actor who had virtually lived the prison events that lived the prison events that Peter Sheridan dramatized to such effect.

As it now appears, Gerard Manley Flynn is listed as Mr Sheridan's collaborator and although the production has dispensed with the *frisson* of authentic violence that Mr Flynn's performance suggested, the play has tightness and tautness that is more successfully theatrical.

*The Liberty Suit* is the production that consolidated the name of the Project Arts Centre

as a leading theatrical force in Dublin and with its closely drilled ensemble work and finely detailed individual performances it should almost be required viewing.

The writing takes liberties of simplification with the portrayal of youthful offenders, blending a carousel of short-term prisoners into a named and recognizable core of characters who are on hand throughout the two-year sentence that Johnny Curley serves for arson, although his sentence is meant to be unusually long.

Curley's conflict is a belated awareness that his crime, which caused damage estimated at £15,000, could be claimed as a political act. Such recognition would remove him from control over the light in his cell and would permit him to wear civilian clothes. His violent opportunism is seeking such status through nudging and a hunger strike, fails foul of both the prison authorities and the political prisoners and what is

demonstrated instead is the slow brutalization of impsonement.

There is less of the hint of self-satisfaction that characterized the original Dublin production, and Gabriel Byrne's performance as Curley offers more ambiguity about his transformation. To be sure, there is still a suicide which justifies a mellowing of his attitude towards two "travelling men", tinkers who remain outsiders even in prison and who are beautifully portrayed by John Murphy and Nuala O'Donovan, but there is also the suggestion that two spells in solitary confinement have rubbed something out of his rebellious spirit.

The piece is written in diary form, with Rose addressing her confidences to the play, and the justification for make casting, in its effect to make many things. Miss Jackson can play, but of all possible roles, including the virginal Sibyl of Palmer's Green, the least likely is that of an infant school teacher. And the sight of that aggressive jaw grinding through morning assembly before unleashing into a mutinously impromptu prayer for the day, leads you to expect a massacre of fish in the barrel.

This, as it shoddy proves, is not the case. Rose is set in a Midland town, where moral attitudes have lagged behind those customarily featured on the metropolitan stage. Miss Jackson is expert in the familiar situation of finding that all the doors to growth have slammed shut.

Unable even to discuss things with her family or colleagues, she has a night out with a Primary Adviser to whom she can at least speak plainly, and consummates the discussion in the back of a car. She need not be afraid of her punishment after learning that her husband is facing redundancy; but nothing is solved, and she winds up with her dreams of a headship as far off as ever.

As a leading theatrical force in Dublin and with its closely drilled ensemble work and finely detailed individual performances it should almost be required viewing.

The writing takes liberties of simplification with the portrayal of youthful offenders, blending a carousel of short-term prisoners into a named and recognizable core of characters who are on hand throughout the two-year sentence that Johnny Curley serves for arson, although his sentence is meant to be unusually long.

Curley's conflict is a belated awareness that his crime, which caused damage estimated at £15,000, could be claimed as a political act. Such recognition would remove him from control over the light in his cell and would permit him to wear civilian clothes. His violent opportunism is seeking such status through nudging and a hunger strike, fails foul of both the prison authorities and the political prisoners and what is

sponsored by the Scottish Amicable Life Assurance Society. Michael Blakemore has joined the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, as a resident director in charge of the next three productions, commencing on March 18 with a new play by Michael Frayn, *Make and Break*. The cast will include Prunella Scales and Leonard

Rossiter. At the end of April he will be directing a revival of Noel Coward's *Hay Fever*, with a cast including Constance Cummings and John Lithgow. The *Twelfth Night* will be a play by the Australian writer David Williamson, whose comedy *The Club* transfers from the Hampstead Theatre to the Old Vic shortly.

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A Waste of Time  
Citizens, Glasgow

Ned Chailliet

A work in which the building itself, or at least representations of some of its parts, provide the setting.

It offers some striking scenes: one on the roof at night, just beneath the statue of Apollo; another in the vaults which hold the "lakes" originally intended for fire-fighting (and still used for air-conditioning). But the scale has to be reduced to show them even on a stage as large as the Opéra possesses, and the representation of the great marble staircase looks paucity by comparison with the real one outside the hall.

There are some moments of fine visual effect, such as the collapse of the great electric chandelier during the *Butterfly* ballet; but the disappearance of the heroine through a mirror loses its impact because the join in its surface has been visible all along, and anyway, with so many backstage or understage machines on show you expect something more imaginative to happen than for the Phantom to appear once more from a trapdoor.

Luckily, Landowski's score proves more efficacious than Giulio Coltellacci's settings and Serge Apparazza's not very atmospheric lighting. It is harsh, stridently modern music: a pity not to have included at least some modification towards a period style for the ballet within the ballet. Taped effects supplement the orchestral music, with a wordless singing voice to remind you sometimes of the Phantom when he is not on stage and occasionally spoken words too, the latter an unwelcome intrusion.

The title part has gone, for

the opening run, to Peter Schaufuss, making his debut at the Opéra. With no disrespect to him, well as he performs it, I imagine that Jean Guizerix in a later cast will be just as good, and his participation was bought at a high price: it was only when they found they would have two guest stars rather than one on their American tour, Schaufuss as well as Nureyev, that the Opéra's own stars raised the objections which have led to cancelling the tour.

The Phantom is, in fact, a role that would sit more happily on older, or at least more visibly mature, shoulders than Schaufuss'. He has the authority for it and acts with understated gravity, but in spite of a make-up that is heavy almost to the point of caricature he looks incongruously young. The strength of his performance lies partly in the sharpness and verity of his dancing, partly in the fact that he never begs for sympathy, preferring to show the man as a monster and leave it to the audience to feel pity for him if they can.

These three fine performances in the main roles are supported by admirable dancing from the rest of the company, especially the 20 men playing rats who could easily have looked shabby but manage to be frightening. Yet there is a lack of sustained flow in the choreography that makes even the best efforts of a strong company eventually disappointing.

The production can be viewed as another stunning, uncompromising instalment in the *Citizen's* investigation of art in life, rich with good performances from such as Celia Imrie, Fidelia Morgan, Di Trevis and a legion of shadowy supporting actors.

D. H. Lawrence BBC 2

Joan Bakewell

Once upon a time there was a miner's son called Bert who became a schoolteacher in Croydon and couldn't keep order in class. He stole an other man's wife, loved her with a fierce and quarrelsome passion, led a nomadic existence in the world, foraging for food, and married couples avoid exposure to each other's points of view.

This is not much of a story: but the achievement of the play, and the justification for make casting, is in its effect to make you experience pain and brief pleasures of the utterly commonplace. Undeniably you take an interest in Rose because, thanks to the actress she comes over as an exceptional person: but through her, the laughter of recognition rings through the play from end to end. Mr Davies is expert in catching the contact-blocking routines by which parents and married couples avoid exposure to each other's points of view.

The piece is written in diary form, with Rose addressing her confidences to the house as a lead in to typical events in the daily round. Alan Dossor's production negotiates this dangerously tricky convention with scenic fluency, but its success derives mainly from the challengingly direct contact Miss Jackson establishes with the spectator.

The part is extremely well fitted to her breezily surgical manner. In her scene with the new man, she dispenses with all the guarded preliminaries and embarks on a bold defiance, so that you can see every phase in the life and death of an affair over a single glass of wine. It is one tribute to the writing, and to the performance, that the affair then duly takes place.

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Charles Douglas-Home on the return of Mr Trudeau with a blank cheque

# What will Mr Trudeau do with his power now?

Mr Pierre Trudeau will be sworn in again today as Canada's Prime Minister. For this, his fourth government, he has a good working majority, which will be only Canada's fourth majority government in the past 10 administrations. He has personally dominated Canadian politics for 12 years; yet after a wasted and desultory period of nine months in opposition he comes back into office now giving few clues as to what he intends to do with his power. We may be able to draw certain conclusions from his past record, but as far as the future position of Canada is concerned Mr Trudeau is in the anomalous position of having been returned to office with a blank cheque and majority in cash.

The record of previous Liberal governments under Mr Trudeau suggests that on economic matters the rate of inflation, the size of the national debt, and the foreign exchange deficit will all rise; and that his response to these trends may be to attempt further accretions of federal economic power by asserting the primacy of centralized policies as the only means to cope with Canada's problems.

Although the Liberals precipitated last month's election by voting against the Conservative plans to increase petrol taxes, Mr Trudeau's Govern-

ment might soon find itself having to adjust to the same economic realities in much the same way. There is a precedent. In 1974, the Conservatives fought the election on a campaign for wage and price controls, which Mr Trudeau rejected at the time. He introduced them the following year.

However, it is on Canada's constitutional future that Mr Trudeau's record leaves some important questions unanswered. There is no manifesto commitment to go by, since there was no manifesto. Mr Trudeau, long recognised as an almost triumphalist exponent of federal supremacy, has been curiously silent on the subject. Less than two years ago he introduced major constitutional proposals which set alarm bells ringing in every provincial capital; yet during the election campaign he was asked why he had not made constitutional reform an issue and replied that the English speaking media had declared it to be a "non-issue", showing uncharacteristic readiness to be told what and what not to say by the press.

When he calls the next first-ministers meeting, he will have to face 11 provincial premiers, who, whatever their different political viewpoints (and eight of them are Progressive Conservatives) are more or less united in their desire to pre-

serve any reforms which add to federal power over the provinces.

Canada has no formal constitution. An Act of the British Parliament is all that there is of Canada's constitution, and no constitutional change can be achieved without amendment to the British North America Act (1867) being passed through the House of Commons in London.

The BNA was designed for a largely rural society of four million people. Its crucial sections 91 and 92 define the areas of jurisdiction between federal and provincial governments. The founding fathers of Canada intended, in the words of John A. Macdonald, "a powerful central government, powerful central legislation and a decent

realized system of minor legislatures for local purposes". But the past 113 years have seen the pendulum of power swing between periods of federal centralization, notably in the war and post-war years—and periods of strong provincialism in the late nineteenth century and in the past 20 years.

With a more leisured political pace than is now tolerable, these swings of the pendulum may have been adequate for Canada to overlook the fatal flaw in her constitution: the absence of any procedure for amending it. There is no court of arbitration between federal and provincial governments, where the possibility of constitutional disputes (far from a bill of rights), and the difficulty of achieving a point where all parties in Canada can agree on the terms of a request to the British

House of Commons to amend the Act, has meant that the pendulum would have to swing very far one way before Canadians think that it is now coming back and then, as may have feared with the case of Quebec, it might be too late.

So for 50 years Canada has tried and failed to agree on amendment procedures. Meanwhile two developments more recently have marked a trend away from centralized power, though both have been resisted, where possible, by federal governments in Ottawa. One is the growing power of the western provinces based on their mineral wealth; the other is the increased nationalism of governments in Quebec.

The graduation of Canada's constitutional argument re-

ceived a sudden and nasty shock in November, 1976, when Quebec returned a government dedicated to a referendum on the question of separation from the rest of Canada. In the wake of several abortive constitutional initiatives during the 1960s and 1970s Mr Trudeau then decided to force the pace, once it had become clear that his introduction of constitutional laws, rather than constitutional reforms, had failed to draw the teeth of Quebec nationalism.

He did not wait for the report of a task force on Canadian unity which he himself had established and reported in January 1978, but instead surprised Canada in June, 1978, with a sudden constitutional package.

The package was in two parts: a White Paper called "Time for Action" proposing a set of principles for a re-newed federation; and a Bill C-60 which was immediately tabled in Parliament and contained those changes which he said could be unilaterally introduced by the Federal Government. This claim was made on the questionable basis of an amendment to the BNA which had been passed in 1949, without the consent of the provinces, but which purported to give Ottawa the unilateral right to establish a house of federalism instead of a senate, and a restructured supreme court to rule on the constitution.

The provincial premiers un-

animously rejected this agenda, which Mr Trudeau had said was to be completed by July 1981. Nevertheless Bill C-60 remained on the table, the subject of much discussion, until his government was defeated last May.

Mr Clark, the incoming Conservative Prime Minister, approached the constitutional impasse in an entirely different way from Mr Trudeau. Perhaps because Mr Trudeau came from Quebec his Government seemed to have created a disproportionate obsession with the Quebec issue, when the other provinces in their different ways also had profound criticisms of Canada's constitution.

Mr Trudeau had had a brilliant career as a professor of constitutional law, which led him to challenge and provoke the Canadian body politic, in a way which, in spite of his Quebec origins, tended to aggravate the crisis rather than defuse it.

Mr Clark being neither an intellectual nor a Quebecois approached the question altogether more modestly. He dealt with all provinces on an equal footing, in the frustration of Quebec's premier who found that his heroic dialogue with Mr Trudeau had turned into a much less dramatic but more practical discussion with his fellow premiers, none of whom were disposed to be impressed by his claim for treatment so much more special

than they expected for themselves.

Mr Clark's intention was to demonstrate not that the structure of provincial-federal relations was perfect, but that any change would have to come about as a result of multilateral discussion among colleagues rather than as a bilateral meeting between Quebec and Ottawa. Though events, when they now, awaited the result of Quebec's referendum this June, his technique made it clear that the future of Quebec was a matter for all the other provinces as well. Mr Clark was criticised in some quarters for what was called "executive federalism", for attempting to bypass the House of Commons by trying to govern through a cabinet of provincial chief executives. Nevertheless the atmosphere in which constitutional reform was to be discussed became much improved compared to the high temperature of the year which had preceded it, and that led to the prospect of a defeat for Quebec's separatists in the referendum.

Now Mr Trudeau is back; with his blank cheque. It would be a tragedy if his return reactivates the mood of separation and division and postpones again the chance that Canada's provinces, for all their diversity, might now at last join with Ottawa to renew their constitution in a spirit of unity.

## Through the lens, a century of news

One hundred years ago immortal newspaper history was made in New York. On March 4, 1880, the New York Daily Graphic reproduced on its front page a photograph of a New York shantytown by the half-tone process, the first direct reproduction from an actual photograph.

Before this, new photographs, taken as early as the 1840s, were reproduced as drawings from wood engravings and they appeared in the early illustrated weeklies such as the *Illustrated London News*, the French *Illustrierte Zeitung* and a delightful sounding publication, *Gleson's Fictorial Drawing Room Companion*, published in Boston.

Though not strictly a news picture the shantytown photograph, taken by Henry J. Newton, showed the living conditions of the poor of 1880 and was the forerunner of today's social document photography.

Within 20 years, the New York Tribune had developed the technique to print half-tones on speed presses. Press photography had arrived. By 1900 newspaper readers expected to see the events of the day in



Historic press pictures: above, New York shantytown, the first photograph to be printed directly in a newspaper by the half-tone plate—it appeared in the New York Daily Graphic on March 4, 1880. Right, the shooting of New York's mayor William Gaynor in August 1910—a scoop for the New York World Telegram. Far right, the airship Hindenburg exploding at her moorings at Lakehurst, New Jersey, in May, 1937—the photographer won an award...

graphic form. Photographers began to specialize in news coverage, picture agencies were set up, news pictures and newspapers vied with each other for the best that the news cameras could produce. Picture scoops were big business.

The early 1900s and the years leading up to the Second World War produced some remarkable news pictures in spite of technical drawbacks. Slow film speeds and cumbersome plate cameras made operating difficult, but the resourceful, determined and sometimes unscrupulous photographers knew they had to get their pictures

in one shot or the great moment was gone for ever.

Getting the scoop picture was one thing. Processing the plate, making the print and getting it to the news editor in time for an edition, was another.

War, disaster, famine, political assassination, human achievement and failure came before the lens and were put on film to feed an inquisitive public. When the Second World War started press photography was established as a commercial enterprise. International photo-agencies had the facility to transmit pictures by radio to and from many parts

of the globe. New camera techniques, particularly in the 35 millimetre field, were being developed. Flash powder came wrapped up in glass. In America, where it had all started with the shantytown picture, *Life*, specializing in photographic coverage of events, had become one of the most important publications in the United States and subsequently in Europe.

Here the half-tone plate excelled. Printed on good quality paper every tone and detail of the original photograph was reproduced to perfection. *Life* drew the world's



most talented photographers to its pages and frustrated hundreds less talented who would have given anything to see their pictures used.

Many of its staff photographers died covering wars. They were treated like ambassadors and given the freedom to work totally in their own style. This

was press photography for the press photographer at its most splendid.

In Britain the picture magazine was also gaining momentum. *Picture Post* had under-contract some of this country's best photographers and they were occupied with picture stories relating to the important

issues of the day. During the Second World War, *Picture Post's* photographers captured the refugee scenes, front-line fighting in Europe, Africa and Asia, the blitz on London, the victory celebrations and the misery and degradation of early post-war Europe.

The arrival in the 30s of the

35 millimetre camera had done much for the magazine news photographer and the candid picture was now possible. Together with faster film speeds, the faster lenses of these small versatile cameras made it possible to shoot unpictured pictures in poor light conditions thereby exacting the realism of the situation, sometimes to the detriment of the unsuspecting victim.

In the 50s Europe's capitals produced their own magazines. *Paris Match*, possibly the

hardest-hitting of them all, achieved a large circulation.

The German *Der Stern* and the Italian *Espresso*, though not enjoying the same international following as *Paris Match*, nevertheless provided their readers visually up to date with national and international happenings.

There is little doubt that television is partly to blame for the closures of some newspapers, magazines and cinema newsreels. With electronics and micro-chips it is inevitable that television and video will ultimately succeed as the visual news media, replacing the conventional photographic stills and cine news gathering which has been with us for the past hundred years.

Peter Keen

## The price of democracy

In a democracy the assertion of rights by individuals or groups sometimes causes inconvenience and occasionally even hardship to others.

As social beings interdependent one to another, it could hardly be otherwise. In addition modern industrial society has call on us, in its specific roles that interlock, with such complexity that we do not fully realize how much we rely on each other until there is a crisis.

The fundamentally social aspects of our lives and our beings is concealed by illusions that we can be individually and totally self-reliant. This is a dangerous illusion. The self-made man, poor bastard, not only fatherless but motherless too, and other such myths batter our language like bird droppings. And then someone or some group decides for some reason that seem important to them not to play their designated role and bang the balloon is up.

People who never gave them a thought suddenly are outraged. How dare they impinge on our comfortable lives. Sure it is a free country. You can go on strike for as long as you like so long as it does not affect me and mine, is essentially the cry.

In fact I heard a politician on television recently whose argument, once you stripped away the verbiage, was that people should only be allowed to strike if it affected no one except themselves. That is not only an impossible criterion but is a case for masochism not trade unionism.

This is the buckcloth to the debate on the proposed amendments to the law as it applies to trade unionism. The division in the Cabinet appears to be, not should they clobber the unions, but to what extent.

I do not want to argue details of this or that piece of proposed legislation. Others are doing so. What is wrong is that we will get too bogged down in the argument of whether it is right or wrong. This, of course, is a matter of judgment.

Democracy is not indigenous to Britain or anywhere else,

down in details. In the present overheated atmosphere important principles concerning the nature of our democracy can be forgotten and even lost.

There is one truth of which I am certain. You cannot have an intolerant democracy. Tolerance enriches democracy. Democracy deepens our tolerance. Whatever our deficiencies as a nation, including the unacceptable secret, that still surrounds areas of our Government, we still remain one of the most tolerant societies in the world.

This is no weakness but a strength of inestimable value to the true quality of life which can never be measured solely by economic indices. Yet there is no room for complacency.

Democracy is not indigenous to Britain or anywhere else,

Historically it is still a very young and tender plant, even in our country which is among the oldest of the democracies. Our democratic rights were achieved after centuries of struggle and campaigns.

Democracy is by definition a political system in which the people should only be allowed to strike if it affects no one except themselves. That is not only an impossible criterion but is a case for masochism not trade unionism.

Democracy is not indigenous to Britain or anywhere else,

ment or a difference of voluntary and still be a constant factor in all collective bargaining procedures.

The only alternative to this is forced labour. You can leave it as a "right" hedged in with such conditions as to make it practically impossible. Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar and Stalin, strong leaders all, had no problems with their fellow citizens, who included their fellow workers, that their action should be supported up to and including supportive action.

We must defend the right of everyone to try to persuade others of the logic and justice of their cause as they conceive it. To do this gives them the moral and even legal authority to insist that no body or group has the right to interfere with their rights and their supporters. This is a right that relates to religious freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to organize and freedom to act in pursuit of what you deem to

be just. These rights carry with them responsibilities. Action in particular must be within norms of behaviour that do not endanger the rights of others.

It is in this context that I challenge those who want to impose a legal ban on what is now described as secondary picketing. Workers on strike are entitled to try to persuade their fellow citizens, who includes their fellow workers, that their action should be supported up to and including supportive action.

We must defend the right of everyone to try to persuade others of the logic and justice of their cause as they conceive it. To do this gives them the moral and even legal authority to insist that no body or group has the right to interfere with their rights and their supporters. This is a right that relates to religious freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to organize and freedom to act in pursuit of what you deem to

be just. These rights carry with them responsibilities. Action in particular must be within norms of behaviour that do not endanger the rights of others.

Like peace, democracy is indivisible. Attacks on the rights of workers and their trade unions cannot leave unaffected other sections of the community. With certainty it will evoke the call for discriminatory legislation from the other end of the political spectrum than that of our present administration.

I can hardly be accused of exaggeration if I remind some people that a Conservative Government is unlikely to be a permanent feature of British political life. The danger is that anti-democratic and intolerant extremism will be rendered respectable.

Mrs Thatcher and her Government are playing with fire. She might start a conflagration that will consume us all.

Jimmy Reid

Editor, *Times Newspapers Ltd, 1980*

## DIARY OF A CERTAIN AGE

New York. This week's news is that Madison Avenue has discovered the over-thirties, or more accurately the nearly-fifties.

It had always survived that they were out there somewhere, spending hours hair darkening fluid thermal underwear, potent remedies for the infirmities of age and in the case of the more far-sighted, hirudinotherapy.

Now the advertisements are having second thoughts about that stereotype. There is, they believe, a market to be tapped among people who do not see themselves as middle-aged.

Advertising thrives on the built-in obsolescence of its conceptions. Every few years its practitioners are obliged to pluck from the air some new marketing idea which quickly becomes off-evident.

In the sixties and seventies it was youth. The discovery was made that people at or just leaving college had growing amounts of what is crudely termed "disposable income".

They want comfort and luxury when they travel, not back-packing, but increased travel and entertainment mean they have more need for fashionable clothing and jewelry.

Ms Barros went into some detail about the age group's domestic habits.

"Over 49 houseswives appear to be proud and fastidious about the way they keep house. They frequently polish their silver and brass. As a group, they are more likely than other homemakers to buy metal polish and use it often. They are also more likely to buy electric cleaning products, toilet and washroom cleaners, floor and drain cleaners."

While that may not sound much fun, a much jollier picture of the actively affluent life style is given in magazine advertisements to the middle-aged.

They have names such as "midlife", "the '80s" and "modern maturing". The middle-aged are "prime time", started at the beginning of the year by Barbara Hertz, an enterprising 58-year-old who in most respects epitomizes the audience her magazine is reaching for.

Starting a new business in

office suite near the top of a Broadway skyscraper, "We're getting away from that. We describe ourselves as the magazine for young people of 45 or over."

A look at the contents of the early issues illustrates what this means. They are full of articles giving expression to concerns which those of us approaching her target age group have been reluctant to admit to ourselves that we share.

In the first issue, a psychologist wrote about the "empty nest" syndrome. In last issue's "midlife" column, a film writer explained why there was less and less for older people to share.

There were articles about champagne and the nouvelle cuisine, while the health section asked the intriguing question: "sex therapy works, but does it last?"



New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone: 01-8371234

## MIXED SIGNALS FROM THE KREMLIN

It is still far too early to assume that the Soviet Union is genuinely looking for a negotiated way out of Afghanistan. Its signals are contradictory and full of traps. They need to be treated with caution. The main line of Soviet policy was set out by Mr Brezhnev in his election speech of February 22:

We will be ready to commence the withdrawal of our troops as soon as all forms of outside interference directed against the government and people of Afghanistan are fully terminated. Let the United States, together with the neighbours of Afghanistan, guarantee this, and then we need for Soviet military assistance will cease to exist.

Mr Brezhnev developed this theme when speaking to Mr Armand Hammer on February 27. He said that although the United States and Afghanistan's neighbours could not control all elements they should ensure that arms shipped to Pakistan are for defence only. He added that the people of Afghanistan should be allowed to determine their own future, a remark that would be better addressed to his own troops.

Anyone seeking further clarification of Soviet intentions has a number of sources to choose from. On February 27 the *Evening News* carried a report believed to have originated from Mr Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist with official connexions. This report said that the Soviet Union wanted a negotiated settlement and might accept a United Nations presence in Afghanistan. It particularly wanted Britain's help for the charmingly frank reason that "Britain knows the problems that come with a great

empire... these problems now face Russia". (Imperialists of the world unite?)

Promising though this report looked it was neither official nor signed. Nor does Mr Louis necessarily speak for the Kremlin, which shows no signs of diverging from Mr Brezhnev's line. Indeed, on the very same day Tass sharply attacked Signor Ruffini, the Italian Foreign Minister, for putting forward the European plan for a neutral Afghanistan. "This plan", said Tass, "which was given a European facade, in fact reflects the West's intention to decide the fate of sovereign Afghanistan and to determine its policy. In effect Signor Ruffini advocates interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people."

Since then a Tass commentator has gone off at an interesting tangent with a new plan for a conference of the thirty-five signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to discuss the security of oil supply routes and "equal commercial access for all countries".

None of these signals tells us anything reliable about Moscow's aims. All are perfectly compatible with a genuine desire to get out of Afghanistan but they can just as easily be interpreted as an attempt to blunt the cutting edge of Western and non-aligned reaction while leaving the situation unchanged. Moreover, whatever they mean they are quite clearly an attempt to establish the Soviet version of events. The essential message is that the Soviet Union intervened in response to outside interference. Stop the intervention and Soviet forces will leave. If the West takes this as an invitation to negotiate it risks being drawn into negotiating on Soviet terms—that is, negotiating not about

Soviet interference but about the alleged interference of others.

There may be a parallel in the way the Soviet Union tried last year to prevent Nato deciding to put new missiles into Europe. It offered negotiations and few token withdrawals of troops and tanks but not the one thing that would have had some effect, namely the removal or reduction of the Soviet weapons to which the Western measures were a response. The West was invited to suspend its countermeasures and embark on open-ended negotiations while the Soviet Union went on putting in new rockets at the rate of one a week.

The West may now be invited to suspend its response to the occupation of Afghanistan so as to facilitate negotiation. Obviously every opening for negotiation must be seriously explored but the only cards that the West holds are the rather inadequate responses agreed and partly agreed since the invasion. To give these up or suspend them while Soviet forces are still in Afghanistan would be to play into Soviet hands.

These are matters of tactics. Substance is more difficult. Even if the Russians were to show interest in a neutral Afghanistan it is not easy to see how to create one. If Soviet troops withdrew now they would probably leave chaos behind. Yet as long as they stay they are hardly likely to create conditions for a free and fair election. Nor has Afghanistan anything but spasmodic democratic experience to build on. Probably the only way forward at the moment is to start trying to build a framework in the hope that this in itself will influence conditions on the ground. But the Russians are still a long way from proving that they are genuinely interested.

## CALIFORNIA'S GERMINAL BRAINS BANK

The project to breed a race of intellectual giants out of a lead-lined box in California need not

fill mankind with any very extreme hopes or fears. The idea forms an obvious starting-point for a variety of science fiction fantasies, but in practice it is unlikely to add greatly to the world supply of brain-power, nor shed much light on the vexed question of intellectual inheritance. Most Nobel prize-winners and their equivalents already make their own private arrangements for passing their genes to posterity, and since like tends to attract like in such matters, they must often choose partners of high intelligence. But the mechanism of inheritance is such that their offspring are likely on average to be less intelligent than their parents, though more so than the average. The same rules will apply to the Nobel mothers too.

The appearance of really exceptional powers remains unpredictable and highly improbable in any given instance. The successful application of such powers to the advancement of human knowledge or welfare is even more a matter of chance and temperament. It is possible to cite extraordinary cases of talent being passed down from generation to generation (the Bach family is one), but easy to

cite many other instances where it has not. It would be pleasing if we could look to the experiment to illuminate the old "nature versus nurture" controversy, but, so many imponderable factors creep in that the conclusions are never likely to be at all clear. Even strong proponents of the "nature" doctrine usually concede that environmental factors can affect measured intelligence by as much as one-fifth—and 20 or 30 points on the IQ scale span the difference between genius and mediocrity.

If the scheme affords no promise of a team of infant sages to solve the world's problems, it appears on the information so far made public, to present no special ethical problems. Genetics is a field where academic passions run high, but it would be wrong to oppose the procedure out of opposition to the views on heredity of some of those associated with it. The scheme is freely entered into by participants who know what they are doing. The expectant mothers are married and able to offer their children the benefits of a secure home.

The plan does raise some questions, however, which do not apply to artificial insemination by donor generally. Success in the Nobel stakes is as closely as

has played scrupulously within the rules of Barnsley Labour Party, as Mr Mason himself admits; and nobody who keeps within the rules may reasonably be presented as a boycott.

Let us not be pious. There have been occasions when elections for local Labour parties have been packed by moderates who had the sense and adroitness to organize in good time. Mr Scargill, a tip-top Labour candidate on all these criteria, an opponent and explaining it, especially when you remember that if all the other unions in Barnsley combined against the NUM they could end the domination of the miners and even choose a non-miner as the candidate eventually to succeed Mr Mason. Years ago Mr Mason himself predicted that, with pit closures and changing trade union strength in the constituency, he would probably be the last miner MP for Barnsley.

In an important sense Mr Mason has only himself to blame. He saw the attack coming and politically he is fully a match for Mr Scargill, yet he failed to guard his centre, quite apart from his flanks. One of the ablest and most active publicists in Labour politics, Mr Mason let it happen; and if he let it happen, without effective counter-action, Labour moderates of less skill and energy will be right to tremble as the Labour Party moves towards mandatory reselection of sitting MPs between one election and another.

The evidence is that the Barnsley Labour Party, like many others, has been withering away, partly because of NUM domination, partly because Mr Mason sits on an enormous majority that removes the spur from any suggestion that membership should be built up. At least Mr Scargill, to gain his own ends if nothing else, is busy organizing the revival of the constituency party, a task Mr Mason and his moderate friends allowed to go by default.

What outsiders must find astonishing is the ruthlessness and venom with which Mr Mason is being pursued in the course of the Scargill coup. After all, Mr Mason's credentials as a miners' MP are as good as anybody's; he is the son of a miner and himself went into the pit when he left elementary school at 14. The NUM sent him to the

London School of Economics, recognizing ability when they saw it, and from 1947 until he entered the House of Commons at a by-election in 1953 he served as a branch official of the NUM.

Mr Mason still tells the story against himself about his arrival at the House. Clement Attlee's PPS asked him to go to the Opposition leaders room, and he went twice before his victory expecting the great man to spend an hour or two of his time giving him a warm welcome. "Don't sit down", he says, "you are a lucky young man. Model yourself on Tom Williams (another Yorkshire miners' MP) and keep out of the bars. That's all." Barnsley's victory was in and out of the room within a minute.

The spirit, if not the letter of that advice served Roy Mason well. In recent years he has been almost the only credible working-class figure in the Wilson and Callaghan cabinets and shadow cabinets, and as sometimes the fate of working-class members of Labour cabinets, he has been given unpopular "right-wing" posts like Secretary of State for Defence and Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. But he has also been President of the Board of Trade, Minister of Power, and Postmaster-General.

At 53, he is one of the most diversely experienced of Labour's former ministers and, in spite of a tendency to look for personal headlines, as much a sign of surplus energy as of vanity, he has never run into a political or parliamentary failure or dropped a brick. Sometimes, perhaps, he has been saved by public relations advisers, as on the occasion when he flew with the RAF on a mission off the west coast of Ireland and "buried" a Russian ship for the fun of it.

Looking at Mr Mason's party and constituency record, assessing his political skills and his unmeritless physical and mental virility, I cannot understand why Mr Scargill works in such an unbrotherly and ideological way to humiliate him and doubtless in the end bring him down. What a mirror party Labour would become in the Commons if the Masons, few enough already, could not be allowed to fit in to it.

David Wood

## Mr Scargill versus Mr Mason

It would be going much too far to say that when I die the word "Barnsley" will be found graven upon my heart, but there is at least one reason, possibly two, to help explain why my eye never glides over newspaper references to the town or its MP. First, I paid a weekly visit to Barnsley magistrates court when I was learning my trade and built up a bizarre dossier of the non-indictable offences committed by a minority of miners, usually a little the worse for drink. Secondly, the town produced accomplished crocodiles on a soil that would produce little else.

At a distance, therefore, I continue to be a Barnsley specialist and during the past few days the Russian occupation of Afghanistan and the Rhodesian election have had to take their place in the queue until the news out of Barnsley has been thoroughly read, marked and digested. Roy Mason, the town's boy wonder, the local miners' one-time favourite son, is under attack from the dreaded Marxist Arthur Scargill, the Yorkshire miners' leader, inferior to the cloth cap of Herbert Smith, the NUM's figurehead in my time. Mr Mason, we are here and there asked to believe, may leave the Labour Party and fight the next general election under some other banner. Mr Mason is likeable (at least to anybody the moderate side of politics). Mr Scargill is dislikable though clever and somehow sinister. The fact has coloured the reporting and the comment on the affair of the miners' well organized takeover of the management committee of Barnsley Labour Party. The essence is that Mr Scargill, a believer in using brute strength wherever he can,

does not need me to defend him, but I hasten to do so. What he said in Parliament was that abortion had never been a crime in Scotland "if done for good medical reasons and in good medical practice". These important words in question marks were correctly printed in your Parliamentary Report (The Times, February 16), but were strangely omitted from Mr L. J. Macfarlane's account of the speech in the letter published today (February 25).

Mr Macfarlane should not have written the letter; and you, Sir, should not have printed it.

Of course abortion (without medical justification) has been a crime in Scotland for hundreds of years. It was treated as murder in the seventeenth century (the cases of Deanes, November 10, 1606, and Robertson and Kemp, December 18, 1627); but by 1763 (the trial of John Fenton at Perth) it had come to be regarded as a separate and lesser crime. The textbooks quote sentences of seven and 14 years' transportation, in cases in 1823 (Perth) and 1824 (Inverary).

Mr Macfarlane also mis-translates the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. I can excuse that error. I cannot excuse an unjustified attack on the Solicker General for Scotland.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT MAXTONE GRAHAM, 6 Most Sole, Sandwich, Kent.

## Britain seen as battleground for rival economic theories

From Professor John Kenneth Galbraith

Sir, In this otherwise wintry season it is a pleasure to come to London and find the crosses and also Professor Milton Friedman in full bloom. But a word of Professor Friedman can be entirely consonant? It is a dangerous thing for an economist to have his ideas put into practice. They may not work. If unemployment continues high in Britain and if inflation continues and if exports continue to lag, there will be no doubt as to what was wrong. In past times my friend had undertaken, in the days of Lionel and Cicile, to make himself when his discourses made things worse than the Jenkins was insufficient to the task, the Chinese reproduced oppressively oppressive, however good their theoretical assumptions. But such has been the British embrace that this will not be possible. Professor Friedman will surely agree, now fully and fairly on trial.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH,  
The Rice,  
Piccadilly, W1,  
February 25.

From Professor Lord Kaldor, FBA

Sir, In your leading article of February 25, referring to Mr Sir John Stavas, you say that there is a "surprising contrast in matters of economic policy between the scholarship of the editor and the simplicity of the politician". Unfortunately, as your leader shows, this proposition has no general validity. You chide Sir Ian Gilmour and various other Ministers for their lack of understanding of economics. But your own argument reveals an abysmal ignorance of the dismal science. No one who has any familiarity with the writings of, not just Keynes, but of Wicksell, Ohlin, Myrdal and others of the Swedish school, could be ignorant of the cumulative forces of contraction which are set in motion by an attempt to maintain the increase in budgetary deficit caused by a fall in economic activity through further increases in taxation and/or cuts in expenditure. No reputable economist would maintain that the progressive shrinkage of production and employment experienced in this way could provide a "visible" or lasting cure for inflation.

You say that "in the 1980s (in contrast to the 1950s) Britain is a country where the wealth-creating base of the economy is shrinking rapidly".

To get rid of that evil, we need social consensus, not class war. We need to create more wealth, not less.

Yours faithfully,

NICHOLAS KALDOR,  
King's College,  
Cambridge.

February 27.

From Sir John Major

Sir, Regarding the article in *The Times* (February 25) by Mr Eric Heffer, one would be led to believe that Professor Milton Friedman's views are those of a crank. His belief that government spending is the "origin" of inflation and that progressive taxation is an "effective remedy" to the "great social evil" of inflation?

To get rid of that evil, we need social consensus, not class war. We need to create more wealth, not less.

Yours faithfully,

D. J. BROWNE,  
Head of Economics Department,  
The Grammar School for Boys,  
Slough.

February 25.

From Sir John Major

Sir, In his article today (February 25) Eric Heffer refers disparagingly to the Government's monetarist policies as "A level Economics". This accusation was also made in the unsigned *Observer* article on BBC 2 last Saturday in the programme featuring both Friedman and Heffer.

As one who has taught A level economics for 18 years I protest at this insult to A level and its teachers and students. A level students are certainly taught about monetarism as well as Keynesianism and the distinction between the Cambridge School of Economics and the monetarists is that monetarism is an "unsubstantiated, misleading and facile". It would indeed be sad if the average A level student was as naive and impressionable as the bewilderment Sir Keith Joseph appears to be.

Yours faithfully,

D. J. BROWNE,  
Head of Economics Department,  
The Grammar School for Boys,  
Slough.

February 25.

From Professor Giddens Smith and others

Sir, The scholarly community, like the universal church, is international and the proposal to close the Public Record Office search rooms at Chancery Lane and to make medieval records available only at the new office at Kew has created a serious problem for scholars based outside Britain.

Even a short visit to the PRO is already extremely costly, requires advance planning and can often be justified only by spending part of the working day at one of the other institutions in central London, such as the British Library or the Institute of Historical Research.

The additional time involved in travelling to Kew and probable delays in producing documents will make the expense of future visits almost prohibitive, quite apart from the risk of damage to irreplaceable material while in transit to and from Kew.

May we hope that a final decision will not be taken without considering both the needs of academic research and the harm that will be done to Britain's reputation for hospitality towards the scholars of other countries.

Yours faithfully,

P. MACCANN, J. COOPER,  
F. X. MARTIN, J. R. S. PHILLIPS,  
C. CROWE.

Arts-Commerce Building,  
University College,  
Dublin 4.

February 14.

From Professor Giddens Smith and others

Sir, The scholarly community, like the universal church, is international and the proposal to close the Public Record Office at Chancery Lane is likely to cause dismay to many historians living outside the United Kingdom. We would like to put on record our collective dismay at this vandalism proposal, and our hope that, even at this late date, it may be reversed.

Yours faithfully,

GADDENS SMITH.

ROBERT R. DOUGLAS M.

ARNOLD M.

DAVID F. MUSTO.

FRANKLIN L.

JOHN MORTON.

JOHN BREWER.

ROBERT G. SMITH.

CHRISTOPHER WAIN,

c/o BBC Television Centre,  
Shepherd's Bush, W12.

February 22.

From Sir John Glubb

Sir, The classic policy for the preservation of peace is to be militarily strong, but diplomatically conciliatory. Some Western democracies seem to have done exactly the reverse. They have allowed themselves to become militarily weak, but are constantly needing and abusing the Soviet Union.

In judging the present tension

between the USA and the USSR, there are points of vital importance which should be understood by the British people and indeed by the whole world.

(1) It would be impossible to prevent war between the super-powers from nature?

(2) Both the USA and the USSR possess sufficient nuclear weapons to exterminate the human race.

(3) Such a war could not be limited to America and Russia but would spread to the whole world.

(4) Every major city in the world would be completely obliterated by nuclear missiles.

As the survival of the human race is at stake, would it not be wise to go to the Russians and say frankly "Look, a







BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

## Overseas bidders: the issues for the City

All the issues raised by recent bid activity—and in particular by Anglo-American's acquisition of a 25 per cent stake in Consolidated Gold Fields—were aired in the Commons debate on company law on Wednesday evening. But it looks as though the politicians, at least, are going to be spending the most time on the least deserving of them.

To go by the chauvinist clamour arising, anyone would think it had been well and truly established that the ownership of large chunks of British industry by overseas entities was a matter to be deplored. It hasn't. There are overseas owners whose United Kingdom acquisitions don't seem to have done much good to themselves, their British employees or the country at large. There are others which present a contrary view.

In those cases where a transfer of ownership might be a cause for national concern, there is already a mechanism for blocking it—by way of a reference to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission from the Office of Fair Trading. And even where that mechanism is invoked for good and valid reasons, there is a case in equity for arguing that if the national interest debars a takeover then the nation should be prepared to pay for it.

Like the Midwest farmers whose livelihood was threatened by the embargo on grain exports to Russia, shareholders in sensitive industries could reasonably object if their interests were to be sacrificed willy-nilly to the greatest good of the greatest number.

But if the principle is clear enough, the practice is another matter entirely. First, there is the question of whether acquisition of a 25 per cent stake effectively shuts out another (and potentially more generous) bidder; and if it doesn't, why was Anglo American prepared to pay so much above the odds to get it? Second, there is the question of whether it is desirable that anyone—whether home-bred or overseas—should be able to build up such a stake, so secretly.

However, there isn't much point in carp about the use of nominee names and the slowness in registering transfers,—undesirable though they are—in the case of Anglo American, when Rockwell can achieve exactly the same result, in respect of the shares of Serck, through a day of vigorous activity on the part of its financial advisors. Finally, there is the question of whether all shareholders alike can benefit from such buying in the market. In the case of Consolidated Gold Fields it is plain that they could not, which on the face of it is unfair. If it emerges from the Stock Exchange enquiries, that those who sold were taking advantage of a situation they had been told would not recur, it will become iniquitous. And iniquity is a matter neither the government nor the City can afford to ignore.

### Compensation

#### A long time coming

With the Government setting its sights on the summer flotation of just under half of British Aerospace's equity, it seems that aircraft assets will be in the hands of private investors before their original owners have been paid compensation in full.

This is bad news for Vickers and GEC, former joint owners of British Aircraft Corporation, as well as half a dozen former shipyard owning groups still awaiting compensation for assets nationalized under the 1977 Aircraft and Shipbuilding Act.

Hopes that the Government would press for early settlement rather than risk the embarrassment of a continuing bitter dispute overshadowing the offer for sale could now evaporate because of the early timing of the planned flotation.

Given the volume of their hostility towards the nationalization plans in Opposition, the present Government's lack of urgency in compensating the victims has been little short of disgraceful.

For some of the groups concerned in the compensation battle speculation about the ultimate payment is merely spic in the share rating. GEC for example remains cash rich, while for Laird eventual payment of up to £10m would have a minor impact on a healthy balance sheet in a wide-ranging

group even after last week's hefty provisions involved in the closure of one of its steel works.

But for Vickers, whose sale of office equipment assets last week came in stark contrast to acquisition moves by Hawker Siddeley (which settled early on compensation), delay in settlement has had a drastic effect.

Although Vickers balance sheet is reasonably sound lack of cash formally generated by BAC has stifled investment and left large parts of the group, including Roneo-Vickers, trailing the opposition in modern techniques.

As a result even though the ultimate payment could amount to around £60m—against claims believed to be in the region of £140m, well in excess of the current market capitalization, the market has its doubts about Vickers' ability to invest the funds fruitfully once borrowing of perhaps £50m after last week's sale have been run up.

For Vosper and Yarrow, in which the former has a 23 per cent stake the problem is not so pressing. Vosper is debt-free and has built up thriving trading assets in the Far East, while investments of £7m already account for more than half Yarrow's assets.

For both these groups settlement even approaching the £25-£30m claimed by Vosper (against an offer so far of only £4.5m) and Yarrow of £15-£20m would seem almost an embarrassment of riches for companies having trouble finding homes for existing cash.

For this reason both appear sound value for those willing to speculate on fair payments eventually being made despite current earnings ratios of 14 for Vosper at 171p and 18 for Yarrow at 32.5p.

Assuming Vosper settled for between £15 and £20m asset backing would rise to between £4 and £5 a share which would justify a share price of almost double the existing one.

### COMPENSATION

	Paid on account	Estimated total claim*
GEC (BAC 50%)	£20m	£100m
Laird Group		
(Cossor, Laird)†	£0.4m	£10m
(Scottish Aviation)†	£2.1m	
Vickers		
(BAC 50%)	£20m	£100m
(Vickers Shipbuilding)†	£8.45m	£40m
Vosper	£1.35m	£25-£30m
		(offered £4.5m)
(Vosper Thorneycroft)		
(Vosper Shiprepairs)	£2.25m	£15-£20m
(Shipbuilders)		
(Training)		

\* Due to confidentiality agreements with the DIO most groups are unable to reveal either their exact demands or amounts so far offered by the Government.

† Arbitration opted for.

Once again the idea of a British Export Bank to take the burden of trade finance off the clearing banks has resurfaced in a persuasive book called "A Challenge to the Banks" by export consultant Derrick Edwards. The nub of his argument is that the way trade credit is funded at present is an enormous drain on the country's resources, which tends to siphon money away from more productive use.

At a time when the corporate sector's

likely deficit this year is becoming an increasing worry, any scheme which purports to help industry's cash needs must be attractive. The banks themselves have blown hot and cool on the idea, but apart from Barclays it has been mostly cool mainly one suspects because it would lower the rates of interest they could charge since the bulk of trade credit is based on over-draft rates.

The establishment of an export bank, Edwards argues, will provide the banks with all the security they need without leaning on government guarantees as operated by ECGD. Whatever the intrinsic merits of the idea, there are a lot of vested interests to be cracked before it can see the light of day. But if in the meantime it opens up the debate on the role of the ECGD, and export credits schemes in general in Europe, where so often their spirit is broken, the book will have provided a service.

## Business Diary profile: Norman Payne, British Airports Authority

After a well-known manufacturer of British motor cars, the British Airports Authority probably takes more flak from the public than any other organization in the country. Norman Payne, chairman of the authority, is personally conversant with almost every complaint arriving at his Buckingham Gate headquarters.

Payne will discuss with callers the broad sweep of the £700m capital expenditure programme into which his authority is locked over the coming five years, or the political and economic implications of the search for a third airport. He will switch without drawing breath to explaining why Heathrow baggage trolleys always pull to the left or the right, but never go straight (passenger overload has, he says).

Duty-free goods? They are not the sales-puller that they used to be and are one of the "fringe" items that regular travellers are cutting down on now that air fares are rising to meet the increased cost of kerosene. But if the Chancellor should put up the tax on alcohol in the Budget, sales at the shops at his seven airports could be expected to rise.

Payne has his fingers on many airport pulses and can be a hard master to members of his staff who are not accustomed with the details he has grasped. He is a tall, slim, vigorous 53-year-old who commutes from his home in the Surrey stockbroker belt very early in the morning. He loves his hobbies as gardening and swimming. While his staff can imagine his doing

some brisk lengths in the pool, the picture of their energetic boss pottering among the roses produces raised eyebrows.

An engineer by profession, Payne has been an airport professional since the 1950s when he was appointed one of the partners in Sir Frederick Snow and Partners with special responsibility for industrial and airport development at home and abroad.

One of his projects during that time was to build the central pier at Gatwick airport, a wonder of the aviation world in

its time. Years later, wearing his BAA hat, he gave the word for his own work to be knocked down and replaced by a bigger and better pier able to accommodate jumbos of a new aviation era.

Payne joined the BAA when it was first formed in 1965 as director of engineering under the chairmanship of Sir Peter Masefield. He was made director of planning four years later and chief executive in 1972. The chairmanship became his in March, 1977, with the departure to the Civil Aviation

Authority of Nigel Foulkes who was later knighted.

It was the first time that the BAA had had a professional airports man at its head, and he was soon joined by a full-time chairman, both Sir Peter and Sir Nigel, having done the job part-time.

Despite the controversy which is fashionably heaped on the BAA's running of its airports, and particularly Heathrow, by weary businessmen awaiting delivery of their bags early in the morning at terminal three, the BAA under Payne manages to squeeze the quart of passengers and cargo into the pint pot of its facilities remarkably well.

Payne is not neatly mouthed when it comes to recognizing the airport's shortcomings.

He agrees that Heathrow is saturated with passengers during peak hours in the summer, and tells his public relations people to inform the public bluntly that if they want to avoid the scrum to go to Gatwick.

Sometimes the airlines do

win a battle in their running war with Payne and his men over prices. For while the Government has just sanctioned increases in handling charges, averaging 35 per cent, those proposed by the BAA were considerably higher until the protest began.

Being chairman of the BAA really requires a crystal ball, but in the absence of such an aid, Payne has his team of forecasters and his faith, born of a quarter of a century in the airports business, that people will continue to want to fly, whatever the price. And as a testament of that faith, a part of that £700m capital expenditure is for preliminary work on developing Stansted so that it will be able to take as many as 50 million passengers a year by the end of the century.

what will they be like in 10 or 20 years? His biggest task during the remainder of his chairmanship is to plan to move the traffic flow smoothly in the 21st century, while not stirring up still further the politicians or the environmental zealots, the latter of which see him as Mephistopheles, and a very noisy devil to boot.

Payne is proud of the continuing profitability of the authority under his command. The airlines, which have to face increasing handling charges for their airlines, and the passengers, who have to pay more and more to park their cars, riposte that profitability is easy when you have a monopoly and can "soak" them financially to remain in the black.

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Arthur Reed



Norman Payne, chairman of the British Airports Authority: not everything in the garden is lovely.

THE TIMES MONDAY MARCH 3 1980

Milton Friedman

## Monetarism: a reply to the critics

Last week Professors

Frank Hahn and Robert Neild of Cambridge launched an attack on monetarism. Today the foremost theoretician

of that school of economics responds



The article by Professors Frank Hahn and Robert Neild (*The Times*, February 25), is an egregious example of misleading labelling. The leading word in the title is "monetarism", yet the article has essentially nothing to say about the central propositions of the quantity theory of money—a classical term I much prefer to the lovely word monetarism.

Instead it deals rather obliquely with a different though related question: whether the widely celebrated "Phillips Curve", which postulated a stable trade-off between inflation and unemployment, deserves the interment that it has increasingly received from the economics profession over the past dozen years as embodying a confusion between nominal and real magnitudes, a "money illusion" that is necessarily temporary.

The quantity theory of money is a scientific doctrine about the relation between the quantity of money, on the one hand, and various aggregate economic variables, on the other, especially, total spending (or income) in pounds, the price level, and the rate of inflation.

It is not a new doctrine. David Hume's two mid-eighteenth-century essays, "Of Money" and "Of Interest", which presented its central content as an interesting summary of the present state of the mathematical theory of the dynamic adjustment of output, employment and prices in an economy characterized by a mixture of competitive and monopolistic elements. They conclude that the current theory is incomplete and unsatisfactory.

I entirely agree. Indeed, I have repeatedly emphasized this point in my own writings, citing it as a major reason for my opposition to "fine-tuning" and my support of a steady monetary and fiscal policy announced long in advance and strictly adhered to.

However, the unsatisfactory character of the dynamic theory does not rehabilitate the dis-

credited "Phillips Curve" and does not justify the Hahn-Neild conclusion that "there are neither theoretical foundations nor empirical support for the monetarist's proposition that... activity and employment can be relied upon to recover automatically from the present fiscal and monetary squeeze".

We can know that a bird flies and it does not follow into line into the sky. It is able to do so without having a complete understanding of the aerodynamic theory involved. Similarly, we know from the experience of many countries over many centuries that:

1. When the quantity of money increases at a decided faster rate than output over any extended period, the result is inflation. The more rapidly money increases, the higher is inflation.

2. The relation between monetary growth and inflation is neither perfect nor instantaneous.

3. In the United Kingdom and the United States, it takes about six months on the average for more rapid monetary growth to produce more rapid growth in output and employment.

4. It takes about another 18 months on the average for accelerated spending to be translated into higher inflation.

5. These effects work also in reverse, the same roughly the same time lags. Reduced monetary growth produces a subsequent slowdown in spending, reflected first in output and employment.

6. There is no dependable

varies from episode to episode.

7. There is a trade-off between unemployment now and unemployment later. Accelerated acceleration of monetary growth may reduce unemployment temporarily, but only at the cost of still higher unemployment later.

Unfortunately, given the poor management of the British economy, Britain has no soft option. (I regret to say, that this is equally true for the United States.)

I challenge Professors Hahn and Neild to offer empirical evidence contradicting these well-established propositions.

May I conclude by stressing that while monetary restraint is a sufficient condition for controlling inflation, it is necessary but not sufficient condition for improving Britain's productivity—the fundamental requirement for restoring Britain to full economic health. That requires measures on a broad front to restore and improve incentives, promote investment, and give a greater incentive for private enterprise and initiative.

A small sample of the empirical evidence and a non-technical presentation of its theoretical interpretation is given in Chapter 9 of *Free to Choose* by Milton and Rose Friedman (published by Secker and Warburg 1980).

Milton Friedman is professor of economics at the University of Chicago and a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1976.

## Problem of finding cash for microelectronics ventures

the United States in realizing the potential of the chip. Both Germany and Japan are the non-Americans quickest to react and have consequently reaped the advantages of that profound expertise.

Microcircuitry had been used in the United Kingdom since the sixties, particularly in defence, but it was not until Dr Robert Noyce invented the microprocessor in 1971 in the United States that the general awareness of such new technology was to become acute.

By July, 1978, acting on the advice of the Industry Department, the Microelectronic Applications Programme (MAP) and the Microelectronics Industrial Support Programme (MISP) had been set up by the Department of Industry with budgets of £55m and £70m respectively. Within a year the Conservative Government's economic policy had reduced MISP to £55 million (MAP was left untouched) and the money available from MISP funds for "infrastructure" projects was consequently reduced to £2 million.

The MAP programme was designed to assist companies to convert to microelectronic-based automation. MISP was to help lay the foundations of a British manufacturing presence in the industry, a burden now largely shared by Plessey, GEC, Ferranti, Hughes, GEC, National Semiconductors, ITT, Texas Instruments, Mullard and Philips.

Although 300 companies, according to the Industry Department, have completed their microelectronic feasibility studies with the assistance of MAP grants, there is a massive gap growing in size each day between the capital available for small new technological ventures and the actual money required. Yet it is those companies which will provide the greatest panache for growth and will be the basic source of new jobs.

Mr David

## FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

Oil again features as one of the main ingredients among companies reporting this week when Shell Transport and Trading, the British arm of Royal Dutch Shell, unveils its full year figures.

These promises to show a substantial rise over the previous year helped by the ever rising price of crude oil and the increase of its North Sea production.

Other blue chips reporting include Unilever, and Fisons, both with full year figures, while Royal Insurance is the latest of the major insurance companies to present its annual profits.

The market will also be keeping a fairly close eye on economic indicators as the budget draw nearer and this week there are several which may go some way towards satisfying its appetite.

Today the CBI publishes its monthly trends inquiry for February, followed on Tuesday by the UK official reserves from the Treasury.

On Thursday the Central Statistical Office reveals the UK balance of payments, the Department of Industry reports on vehicle production for February and the Department of the Environment publishes the housing starts and completions for January.

Finally on Friday the Department of Industry rounds off the week with the fourth quarter company liquidity survey.

It now looks fairly certain following reports already

## Market eye on economic indicators

received from Commercial Union and General Accident that Royal Insurance, reporting today, will have taken a fairly heavy beating at the hands of the weather.

Analysts estimates range from £124m to £130m compared with last year's profit of £153m with most going for a 13 per cent rise in the dividend to 22p.

The terrible weather conditions which prevailed last year are the chief reasons for the

## This week

downturn although the United Kingdom is expected to have made an underwriting profit of around £5.5m. However, this is not the case with underwriting throughout the rest of the world. The United States will probably record a loss of around £13.5m against a profit last year of £10m while heavy losses in Canada and Australia could total as much as £16m.

Investment income will also have been feeling the squeeze with most people predicting only a 6 per cent rise in growth to £128m before currency losses.

The current year also looks bleak with a worsening in the

United States insurance market likely to make a further dent in profits.

Also today are full year figures from Fisons which are likely to show the ravages of competition and severe weather conditions.

Analysts estimates range from £162m to £19m as against £153m with most going for a 13 per cent rise in the dividend to 22p.

The terrible weather conditions which prevailed last year are the chief reasons for the

suffer severe competition in Europe with regard to its edible oil and margarine products. Thames Board Mills has also been a casualty after its recent expansion programme while delays in delivery have caused further problems for its Nigerian operations.

Finally on Thursday, Shell will publish its full year profits which are expected to show a healthy improvement following the latest round of oil price increases.

Observers expect that net income for the 12 months to December 31 should rise from

£1,086m to around £2,700m which is likely to include £1,000m of stock profits. Analysts remain divided over the dividend with some going for 16.5p gross while others are predicting for around 25p.

Esso's oil and gas production

among its gas field operations has picked up along with a share of output from the Brent Field which now runs to 400,000 barrels a day. This is also the picture now being painted by most of its operations throughout the world with its total crude liftings

bringing the group more into line with its main competitor BP.

**TODAY:** Interim-Beradina Rubber, Minerals & Resources Corp, Victor Products (Wallend), and Zambia Copper Invests. **Finals:** Blagden & Noakes (Hides); George Ewer, Fisons, Investment Tst of Guernsey, Isle of Man Enterprises, and Royal Insurance.

**TOMORROW:** Interim-Diploma, Helene of London, and Link House. **Finals:** Aquitaine, British Vita, Gridlays Hides, Provident Financial Grp, Kentford, Unilever, and Unilever NV.

**WEDNESDAY:** Interim-A. A. H. Consolidated Gold Fields, Matthew Clark & Sons and Crossfran. **Finals:** Family Invest Tst, Hallian Sleigh & Cheston, Kode Int, Pitcairn, and S.E.A. (Aklie bolagets).

**THURSDAY:** Interim-G. M. Firth (Metals), Garsford Brindley, Hunt & Moore (Midleton), Mitchell, Corus (Midleton), and Royal Dutch Pet. W. N. Sharpe Hides, Shell Transport & Trading, and Taverne Rutledge.

**FRIDAY:** Interim-Geo Scholles, and Telefusin. **Finals:** Anglo American Gold Invest, Airt & Viborg, Bridgewater Estates, Derek Crouch, and First Guernsey Secs Tst.

**SATURDAY:** Interim-Michael Clark

Mr David Orr, chairman of Unilever.

The group has continued to

Sir George Burton, chairman of Fisons.

bring the group more into

line with its main competitor

BP.

BP has made for Maples, the furniture retailing group best known for its Tottenham Court Road store. The offer comes from a so far unnamed United Kingdom retailing concern.

But the 30p a share terms

consisting of 21p in cash and

9p worth of the bidder's shares

have been firmly rejected by

the board of Maples as "com-

pletely unsatisfactory" since

they seriously undervalue the

company.

Negotiations have been going

on for some weeks but have

now broken down following the

bidding's decision to go over

the head of the Maples board in

making an offer direct to share-

holders.

Maples has been steadily re-

covering from its property ad-

venture of the mid-1970s when

its grandiose scheme to re-

develop the Tottenham Court

Road site brought the company

virtually to its knees with prop-

erty values slumped and

development costs soared.

Formed as a result of the

acquisition of Maples by the

Cardiff-based Maccowards stores

in 1972, Maples fast became a

stockmarket favourite when it

was a satellite of Jessel Secu-

ties with the shares rising to

114p at one stage. At the height

of the property crisis the value

of the shares slumped to only

4p at one point. The site was

eventually sold for £12.5m in

1977, less than half its expected

development value when the

scheme was started.

Recently the group began to

expand again through the

acquisition of a French furni-

ture group and last year moved

back to its Tottenham Court

Road site.

## Maples is unhappy over £8.2m bid

for the first time since 1974.

In the first half of the

current year profits were up

10 per cent, higher at £26,000

with a forecast of a "satisfac-

tory" increase over the

year before.

Under the watchful eye of

Morgan Grenfell—the pres-

ent chairman, Mr David Keys

came from the merchant bankers

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## MARKET REPORTS

## Tanker trade is showing signs of perking up

After several weeks of very depressed trading conditions the tanker market perked up slightly last week bringing optimistic hopes of better times ahead. For its part, the dry cargo sector maintained the firmness it had displayed throughout most of this year so far.

Tanker rates have been hovering at below break-even points for several weeks and while there were fears expressed recently that a considerable amount of tonnage would be returned to lay-up, they have as yet, not materialised. Oddly enough for a short

## Wall Street

New York: Feb 29—Despite another round of interest-rate increases, the stock market moved higher in active trading, paced by a strong rebound in recently weak American Telephone.

Analysts said expectations that the Administration will take some new action to dampen inflation were benefiting interest-rate sensitive issues, particularly American Telephone.

Analysts said rates raised by the prime

head

to a record 163 per cent. The industry rate had been split between 162 and 163 per cent. Additionally, the Federal Reserve apparently tightened credit further through dealings in government securities.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed at 863.14, up 8.70. Volume on the New York Stock Exchange totalled 38,310,000 shares, down from yesterday's 40,330,000.

**Gold slightly down**

New York: Feb 29—Gold moved narrowly lower in清淡的 thin

market. Comex gold was quoted \$603.65 an ounce, down slightly from \$603.85 on Friday.

Gold futures were down \$1.00 an ounce, down from \$1.00 on Friday.

Gold futures at NY Comex started the day at \$603.65 an ounce, down \$1.00, including European interest, fuelled by the aggressive market spot

and the late-day delivery was bid

250,000 ozs. up to \$604.00 an ounce.

Gold futures at NY Comex

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## Stock Exchange Prices

## Capitalization and week's change

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings Began, Feb 25. Dealings End, March 7. 5 Contango Day, March 10. Settlement Day, March 17

Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted)

**VALUATIONS  
& SALES  
PROPERTY  
AND PLANT**  
LONDON • BIRMINGHAM  
LEEDS

**HENRY  
BUTCHER**  
LEOPOLD FARMER

LONDON • BIRMINGHAM

LEEDS

Stock out- standing	Stock	Price	Chg's	Int.	Gross	Div.	Price	Chg's	Int.	Gross	Div.	Price	Chg's	Int.	Gross	Div.	Price	Chg's	Int.	Gross	Div.	Price	Chg's	Int.	Gross	Div.	Price			
		last	on	last	yield	yield	last	on	last	yield	yield	last	on	last	yield	last	on	last	yield	yield	last	on	last	yield	yield	last	on	last		
<b>BRITISH FUNDS</b>																														
1,100,000	Treas	95.25	1,000	86.95	1.2	1.2	9,631	17,320	95.25	1.2	1.2	9,631	17,320	95.25	1.2	1.2	9,631	17,320	95.25	1.2	1.2	9,631	17,320	95.25	1.2	1.2	9,631	17,320	95.25	
400,000	Fund	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75
400,000	Fund	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75	107.50	50.75	1.2	1.2	8,621	16,204	51.75
400,000	Treas	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50
400,000	Treas	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50	117.50	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	117.50
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400,000	Exch	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75
400,000	Exch	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75
400,000	Exch	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75
400,000	Exch	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75
400,000	Exch	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75	120.75	91.75	1.2	1.2	11,549	16,154	120.75
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PERSONAL CHOICE

## Broadcasting Guide

Edited by David Sinclair

## TELEVISION

## BBC 1

6.40 am Open University : Functioning. 7.45 ABC Kansas City. 7.30 Concerto Case Study. Close down at 7.55.

9.00 For Schools, Colleges : A Good Job with Prospects (Civil Aviation). 9.30 Biology. The Land Battle (r). 9.52 Communicate 1. 10.15 Music Time. 10.38 Maths Topics (r). 11.00 Merry-Go-Round (r). 11.25 You and Me: 1.23 4.5 (r). 11.40 For Schools, Colleges : General Studies—The Silicon Factor. Close down at 12.05.

12.45 News.

1.00 pm Pebble Mill at One : Sonia Lantaman, the sprinter, is the subject of this week's The Medal Chasers.

1.45 How Do You Do? : A Country Picture (r).

2.01 For Schools, Colleges : Words and Pictures (r).

2.18 The Sun-Times : Crowded Islands (r). 2.40 Going to Work Catering. Close down at 3.00.

3.15 Songs of Praise from Petworth, West Sussex, repeat from Sunday.

3.55 Long School presented by Sarah Long and Michael Mann. Today's story is A Holiday at the Side.

4.28 Touché Turtle : More cartoon adventures with Touché and Dum Dum (r).

## BBC 2

6.40 am Open University : 6.40 Simulation Modelling : 7.05 Instrumentation (Strain Gauging). 7.30 Nine Sweeter Dome. Close down at 7.55.

10.05 It Figures : Maps and Graphs. Penultimate programme in Jimmy Young's series about everyday mathematics.

10.30 The Handicapped Family. Four hours of specially disabled people have been helped to form a community with three able-bodied families.

11.00 Play School : Same as BBC 1 at 3.55. Close down at 11.25.

11.25 Let's Go ... and find a hobby. Help for the mentally handicapped.

2.30 Roads to Conflict : Palestinian

4.25 Jackanory : Bright Forsyth begins reading The Weathermakers, by John Farrimond.

4.40 Heyyo, it's the King: Cartoon series (r).

5.00 John Craven's Newsround.

5.05 Blue Peter : The story of Petty Officer Harry Price and the unique record he kept of a tour of the British Empire by the Duke and Duchess of York (names King George V and Queen Mary) in 1901.

5.35 Paddington : Please Look After This Bear (r).

5.40 News with Kenneth Kendall.

5.55 Nationwide : Glyn Worsnip goes cleaning windows in the last of this series Glyn's London.

6.45 A Question of Sport : 100th edition of the quiz programme.

Footballer of the Year Kenny Dalglish and Lucinda Prior-Palmer join Emily Hughes and Gareth Edwards.

7.15 Blakes Seven: Sarcophagus. The Liberator encounters a deserted alien ship in deep space and runs into danger.

8.10 Panorama in Rhodesia : Fred Emery presents the latest election news from Rhodesia, political parties are interviewed. The country goes on to Richard Lindsay reports on the problems facing Rhodesia in the aftermath of the poll.

9.00 News with Richard Whitmore. 9.25 The Monday Film : The Pursuit of Happiness (1971). Michael Sarrazin and Barbara Hershey in a satire on the generation gap in middle-class America. Rich kid acquires radical girlfriend, accidentally kills woman while driving, is sent to jail because of his uncompromising (and nasty) attitude. All very Seventies.

10.55 Film 30 : Barry Norman looks at some of the nominations for this year's Academy Awards, due next month. Also science fiction with Kit Douglas and a couple of zombi movie stars.

11.25 Education Matters : The future for 5-11 year-olds, as seen by Peter Newson, chief officer of the Inner London Education Authority, in conversation with Adam Hopkins.

11.50 News headlines, weather.

## Regions

BBC 3 : VARIATIONS: Wales : 1.45 pm Bill Pala : 4.45 (r), and the Farm on the Farm. 2.00 (r) and the Farm on the Farm. 2.35 Festival of Welsh Mixed Voices.

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But then, our God, art kind and merciful, and patient, a merciful ruler of all that is. For even if we fall into the power of—*Wisdom 13: 1 (N.E.B.)*

### BIRTHS

ALLONY.—On 29th February, to Maria, wife of Barkava, and Richard, daughter of Rebecca Dill, a son, Andrew.

BARRACLOUGH.—On 1 February, to Mrs. Barbara Barracough, a son, John, and a daughter, Michaela (Timothy Ralph), a brother for David.

BRASSER.—On 29th February, at the Connaught Hospital, to Mabel and John, a son, Damien Nicholas Joseph. Due to details.

### BIRTHS

WIGRAM.—On February 25th, 1980, at the British Military Hospital, 100, F.O.P.O. 45, 10 Gary, and Andrew, a son, William, to John and Rosalie, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

### BIRTHDAYS

HAPPY BIRTHDAY darlings, wish love today and every day.

### MARRIAGES

CHESTERMAN.—King, on March 19th, at the British Military Hospital, 100, F.O.P.O. 45, 10 Gary, and Andrew, a son, William, to John and Rosalie, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

LOVERIDGE.—CHESTERMAN.—On 19th March, in London, Mr. David Loveridge, son of Mr. and Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

OLDFIELD.—SARAH.—On 19th March, in London, Mr. David Oldfield, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

COX.—WARREN.—On 21st March, at St. Paul's Church, Cox, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

OLDFIELD.—SARAH.—On 19th March, in London, Mr. David Oldfield, to Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

### DEATHS

BORRAS.—On February 29th, 1980, John, of 107 Park Lane, Southwark, aged 70, son of John and Emily, and much loved father and grandfather, of many, to his wife, Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

EDWARDS.—SIR RICHARD.—On 29th February, at the Royal Free Hospital, Hampstead, a great and much loved colleague at Queen's V.A.C. house, Customs and Excise, London SW1.

GALPIN.—On February 29th, 1980, in Galpin, aged 55, CMS Missionary Preacher, son of Mr. and Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

COMPTON.—BRENDA.—On 29th February, 1980, Brenda, aged 21, of 107 Park Lane, Southwark, a son of John and Emily, and much loved father and grandfather, of many, to his wife, Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

HODGES.—On February 29th, 1980, peacefully at home after a long and crippling illness, accepted medical advice, Graham Hodges, priest, and former rector of St. Edmund's, a son, (George James).

JOHNSON.—SARAH.—On 29th February, 1980, Sarah, a son, (George James).

MORRIS.—BRENDA.—On 29th February, 1980, Brenda, aged 21, of 107 Park Lane, Southwark, a son of John and Emily, and much loved father and grandfather, of many, to his wife, Mrs. (Mrs. Scott) Bowden, Charles, a son, (George James).

THOMAS.—LEONARD.—On 29th February, 1980, Leonard, a son, (George James).

WATKINS.—JOHN.—On 29th February, 1980, John, a son, (George James).

WILSON.—JOHN.—On 29th February, 1980, John, a son, (George James).

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